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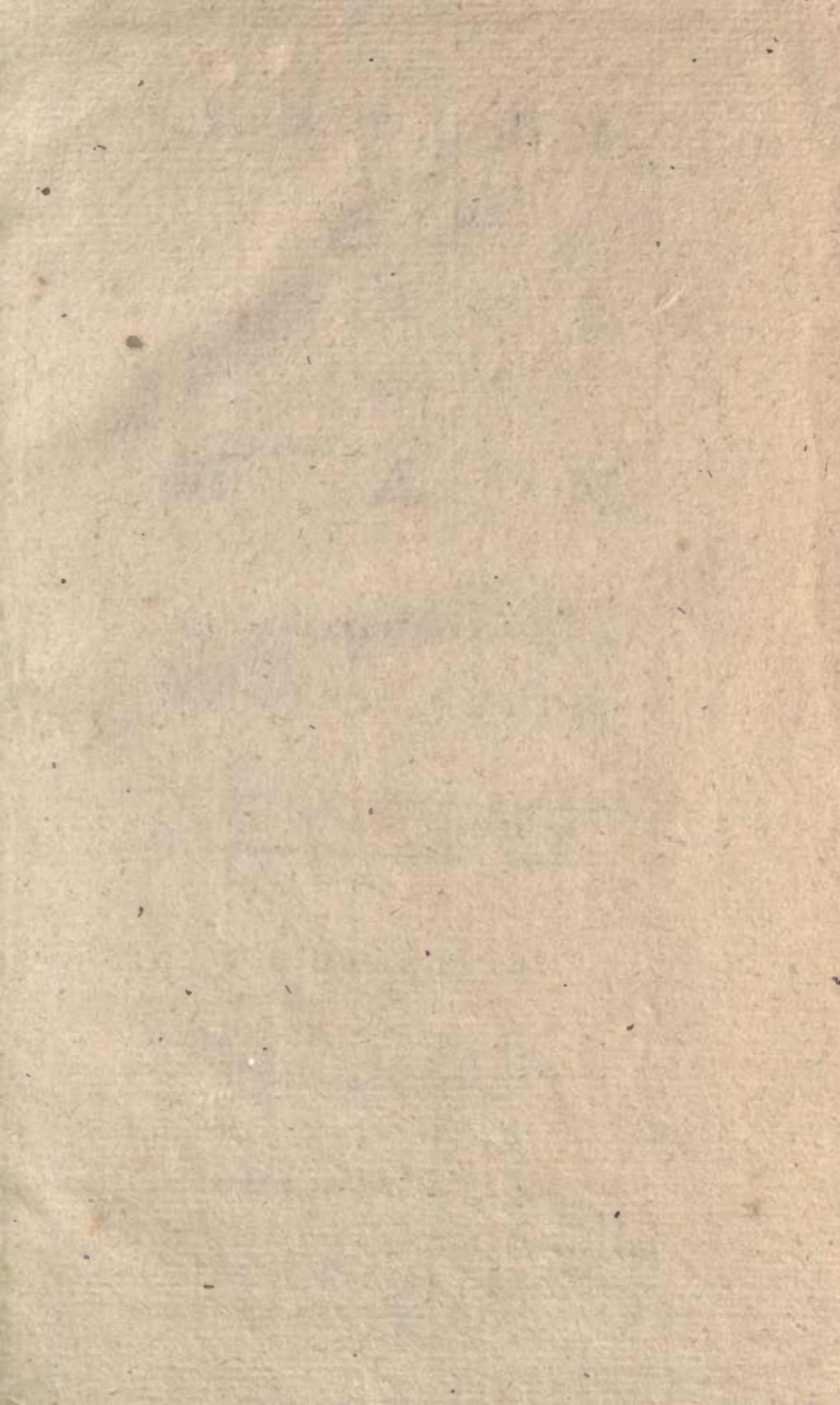
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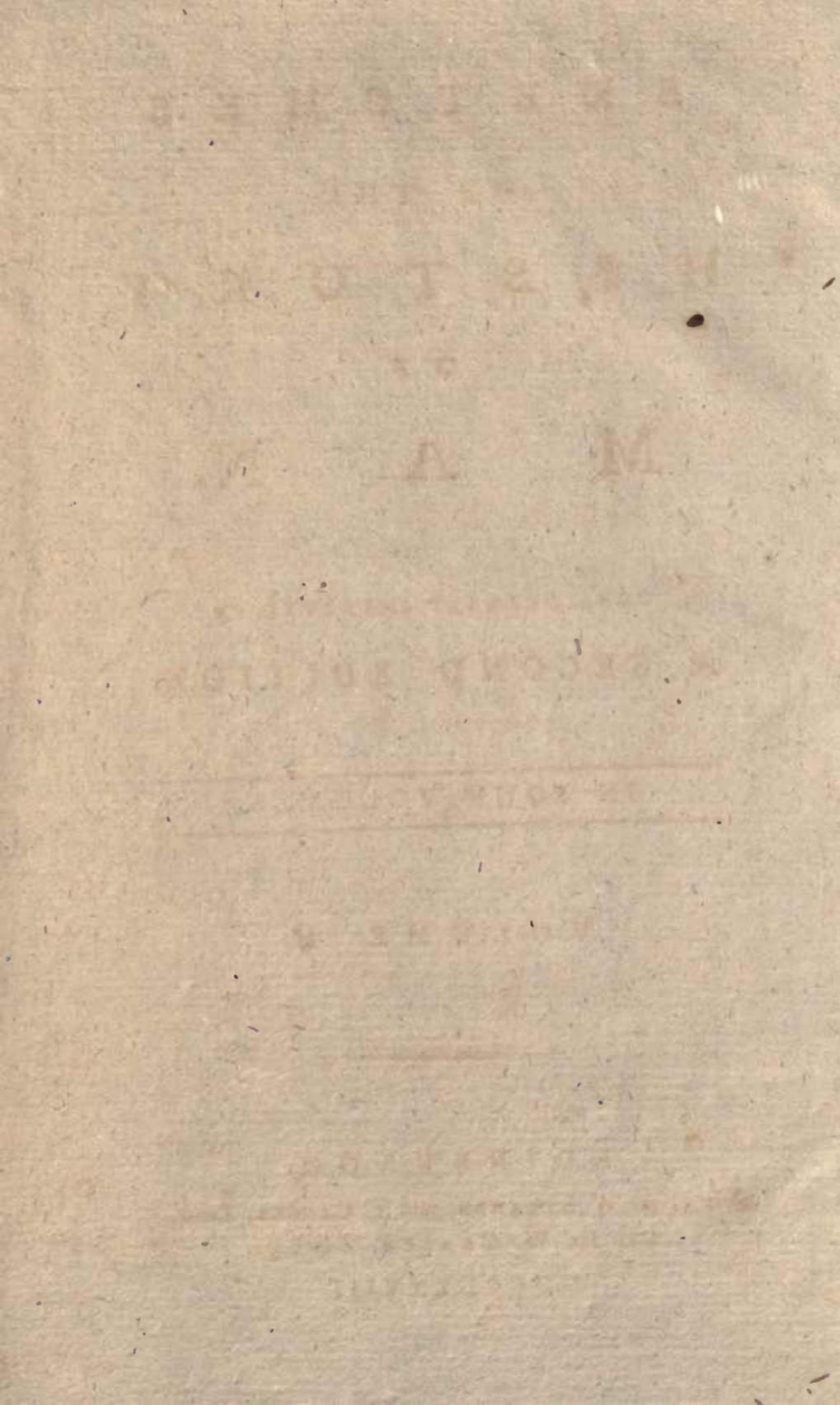


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in savage tribes, to their elevated state in civilized nations.

With regard to the outlines, whether of internal disposition or of external figure, men and women are the same. Nature, however, intending them for mates, has given them dispositions different but concordant, so as to produce together delicious harmony. The man, more robust, is fitted for severe labour and for field-exercises : the woman, more delicate, is fitted for sedentary occupations ; and particularly for nursing children. That difference is remarkable in the mind, no less than in the body. A boy is always running about ; delights in a top or a ball, and rides upon a stick as a horse. A girl has less inclination to move : her first amusement is a baby ; which she delights to dress and undress. I have seen oftener than once a female child under six getting an infant in its arms, caressing it, singing, and walking about staggering under the weight. A boy never thinks of such a pastime. The man, bold and vigorous, is qualified for being a protector : the woman, delicate and timid, requires protection.

tection *. The man, as a protector, is directed by nature to govern : the woman, conscious of inferiority, is disposed to obey. Their intellectual powers correspond to the destination of nature : men have penetration and solid judgement to fit them for governing : women have sufficient understanding to make a decent figure under good government ; a greater proportion would excite dangerous rivalry. Women have more imagination and more sensibility than men ; and yet none of them have made an eminent figure in any of the fine arts. We hear of no sculptor nor statuary among them ; and none of them have risen above a mediocrity in poetry or painting. Nature has avoided rivalry between the sexes, by giving them different talents. Add another capital difference of disposition : the gentle and insinuating manners of the female sex, tend to soften the roughness of the other sex ; and where-ever women are in-

* From which it appears to proceed, that women naturally are more careful of their reputation than men, and more hurt by obloquy.

dulged with any freedom, they polish sooner than men *.

These are not the only particulars that distinguish the sexes. With respect to matrimony, it is the privilege of the male, as superior and protector, to make a choice: the female preferred has no privilege but barely to consent or to refuse. Nature fits them for these different parts: the male is bold, the female bashful. Hence among all nations it is the practice for men to court, and for women to be courted: which holds also among many other animals, probably among all that pair.

Another distinction is equally visible: The master of a family is immediately connected with his country: his wife, his

* The chief quality of women, says Rousseau, is sweetness of temper. Made by nature for submission in the married state, they ought to learn to suffer wrong, even without complaining. Sourness and stubbornness serve but to increase the husband's unkindness and their own distresses. It was not to indulge bad humour, that Heaven bestow'd on them manners insinuating and persuasive: they were not made weak in order to be imperious: a sweet voice suits ill with scolding; delicate features ought not to be disfigured with passion. They frequently may have reason for complaints; but never, to utter them publicly.

children,

children, his servants, are immediately connected with him, and with their country through him only. Women accordingly have less patriotism than men ; and less bitterness against the enemies of their country.

The peculiar modesty of the female sex, is also a distinguishing circumstance. Nature hath provided them with it as a defence against the artful solicitations of the other sex before marriage, and also as a support of conjugal fidelity.

A fundamental article in the present sketch is matrimony ; and it has been much controverted, whether it be an appointment of nature, or only of municipal law. Many writers have exercised their talents in that controversy, but without giving satisfaction to a judicious enquirer. If I mistake not, it may be determined upon solid principles ; and as it is of importance in the history of man, the reader, I am hopeful, will not be disgusted at the length of the argument.

Many writers hold that women were originally common ; that animal love was gratified as among horses and horned cattle ; and that matrimony was not known,

known, till nations grew in some degree to be orderly and refined. I select Cicero as an author of authority: "Nam fuit quoddam tempus, cum in agris homines passim, bestiarum more, vagabantur, et sibi victu ferino vitam propagabant: nec ratione animi quicquam sed pleraque viribus corporis administrabant. Nondum divinæ religionis non humani officii ratio collebatur. Nemo legitimas viderat nuptias, non certos quisquam inspexerat liberos * (a)." Pliny, in support of that doctrine, informs us, that the Garamantes, an African nation, male and female lived promiscuously together, without any notion of matrimony. Among the Auses, a people of Libya, as Herodotus says, matrimony was not known, and men cohabited with women indifferently, like other

* " For there was a time, when men, like the brutes, roamed abroad over the earth, and fed like wild beasts upon other animals. Then reason bore no sway, but all was ruled by superior strength. The ties of religion, and the obligations of morality, were then unfelt. Lawful marriage was unknown, and no father was certain of his offspring."

(a) *De Inventione*, lib. i.

animals.

animals. A boy educated by his mother was at a certain age admitted to an assembly of men, and the man he clung to was reputed his father. Justin and other authors report, that before Cecrops, who reigned in Attica about 1600 years before Christ, marriage was not known in Greece; and that the burden of children lay upon the mother.

Before entering directly into the matter, it is proper to remove, if possible, the bias of these great names. The practice of the Garamantes and of the Aufes is mentioned by Pliny and Herodotus as singular; and were it even well vouched, it would avail very little against the practice of all other nations. Little weight can be laid upon Pliny's evidence in particular, considering what he reports in the same chapter of the Blemmyans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breast. Pliny at the same time, as well as Herodotus, being very deficient in natural knowledge, were grossly credulous; and cannot be relied on with respect to any thing strange or uncommon. As to what is reported of ancient Greece, Cecrops possibly prohibited polygamy, or introduced

ced some other matrimonial regulation, which by writers might be mistaken for a law appointing matrimony. However that be, one part of the report is undoubtedly erroneous; for it will be made evident afterward, that in the hunter-state, or even in that of shepherds, it is impracticable for any woman, by her own industry alone, to rear a numerous issue. If this be at all possible, it can only be in the torrid zone, where people live on fruits and roots, which are produced in plenty with very little labour. Upon that account, Diodorus Siculus is less blameable for listening to a report, that the inhabitants of Taprobana, supposed to be the island of Ceylon, never marry, but that women are used promiscuously. At the same time, as there is no such custom at present in the East Indies, there is no good ground to believe, that it ever was customary; and the East Indies were so little known to the ancient Greeks, that their authors cannot be much rely'd on, in the accounts they give of that distant region. The authority of Cicero, however respectable in other matters, will not be much regarded upon the present question, when

the passage above quoted is dissected. How crude must his notions be of the primitive state of man, when he denies to savages any sense of religion or of moral duty ! Ought we to rely more on him, when he denies that they have any notion of matrimony ? Cæsar's account of the ancient Britons approaches the nearest to a loose commerce with women, tho' in the main it is good evidence against Cicero. It was common, he says, for a number of brothers or other near relations, to use their wives promiscuously. The offspring however were not common ; for each man maintained the children that were produced by his own wife. Herodotus reports the same of the Massagetae.

Laying thus aside the great names of Cicero, Herodotus, and Pliny, the field lies open to a fair and impartial investigation. And as the means provided by nature for continuing the race of other animals, may probably throw light upon the economy of nature with respect to man ; I begin with that article, which has not engaged the attention of naturalists so much as it ought to have done. With respect to animals whose nourishment is

grafts, pairing would be of no use : the female feeds herself and her young at the same instant ; and nothing is left for the male to do. On the other hand, all brute animals whose young require the nursing care of both parents, are directed by nature to pair ; nor is that connection dissolved till the young can provide for themselves. Pairing is indispensable to wild birds that build on trees ; because the male must provide food for his mate while she is hatching the eggs. And as they have commonly a numerous issue, it requires the labour of both to pick up food for themselves and for their young. Upon that account it is so ordered, that the young are sufficiently vigorous to provide for themselves, before a new brood is produced.

What I have now opened suggests the following question, Whether, according to the economy above display'd, are we to presume, or not, that man is directed by nature to matrimony ? If analogy can be rely'd on, the affirmative must be held, as there is no other creature in the known world to which pairing is so necessary. Man is an animal of long life, and is proportionally

portionally slow in growing to maturity : he is a helpless being before the age of fifteen or sixteen ; and there may be in a family ten or twelve children of different births, before the eldest can shift for itself. Now in the original state of hunting and fishing, which are laborious occupations and not always successful, a woman, suckling her infant, is not able to provide food even for herself, far less for ten or twelve voracious children. Matrimony therefore, or pairing, is so necessary to the human race, that it must be natural and instinctive. When such ample means are provided for continuing every other animal race, is it supposable that the chief race is neglected ? Providential care descends even to vegetable life : every plant bears a profusion of seed ; and in order to cover the earth with vegetables, some seeds have wings, some are scattered by means of a spring, and some are so light as to be carried about by the wind. Brute animals which do not pair, have grafts and other food in plenty, enabling the female to feed her young without needing any assistance from the male. But where the young require the nursing care

of both parents, pairing is a law of nature. When other races are so amply provided for, can it be seriously thought, that Providence is less attentive to the human race? If men and women were not impelled by nature to matrimony, they would be less fitted for continuing the species, than even the humblest plant. Have we not then reason fairly to conclude, that matrimony in the human race is an appointment of nature? Can that conclusion be resisted by any one who believes in Providence, and in final causes *.

To confirm this doctrine, let the consequences of a loose commerce between the sexes be examined. The carnal appetite, when confined to one object, seldom transgresses the bounds of temperance. But were it encouraged to roam, like a bee sucking honey from every flower, every new object would inflame the imagina-

* It appears a wise appointment of Providence, that women give over child-bearing at fifty, while they are still in vigour of mind and body to take care of their offspring. Did the power of procreation continue in women to old age as in men, children would often be left in the wide world, without a mortal to look after them.

tion ; and satiety with respect to one, would give new vigour with respect to others : a generic habit would be formed of intemperance in fruition (*a*) ; and animal love would become the ruling passion. Men, like the hart in rutting-time, would all the year round fly with impetuosity from object to object, giving no quarter even to women sucking their infants : and women, abandoning themselves to the same appetite, would become altogether regardless of their offspring. In that state, the continuance of the human race would be a miracle. In the savage state, as mentioned above, it is beyond the power of any woman to provide food for a family of children ; and now it appears, that intemperance in animal love would render a woman careless of her family, however easy it might be to provide for it *.

I

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, chap. 14.

* I have often been tempted to blame Providence for bringing to perfection in early youth the carnal appetite, long before people have acquired any prudence or self-command. It rages the most when young men should be employ'd in acquiring knowledge, and in fitting themselves for living comfortably

I say more. The promiscuous use of women would unqualify them in a great measure to procreate. The carnal appetite in man resembles his appetite for food : each of them demands gratification, after short intervals. Where the carnal appetite is felt but a short space annually, as among animals who feed on grafts, the promiscuous use of females is according to the order of nature : but such a law in man, where the carnal appetite is always awake, would be an effectual bar to procreation ; it being an undoubted truth, that women who indulge that appetite to excess, seldom have children ; and if all women were common, all women would in effect be common prostitutes.

ably in the world. I have set this thought in various lights ; but I now perceive that the censure is without foundation. The early ripeness of this appetite, proves it to be the intention of Providence that people should early settle in matrimony. In that state the appetite is abundantly moderate, and gives no obstruction to education. It never becomes unruly, till a man, forgetting the matrimonial tie, wanders from object to object. Pride and luxury are what dictate late marriages : industry never fails to afford the means of living comfortably, provided men confine themselves to the demands of nature.

If

If undisguised nature show itself anywhere, it is in children. So truly is matrimony an appointment of nature, as to be understood even by children. They often hear, it is true, people talking of matrimony; but they also hear of logical, metaphysical, and commercial matters, without understanding a syllable. Whence then their notion of marriage but from nature? Marriage is a compound idea, which no instruction could bring within the comprehension of a child, did not nature co-operate.

That the arguments urged above against a promiscuous use of women, do not necessarily conclude against polygamy, or the union of one man with a plurality of women, will not escape an attentive reader. St Augustin and other fathers admit, that polygamy is not prohibited by the law of nature; and the learned Grotius professes the same opinion (*a*). But great names terrify me not; and I venture to maintain, that pairing in the strictest sense is a law of nature among men as among wild birds; and that polygamy is a gross

(*a*) *De jure belli ac pacis*, lib. 2. cap. 5. § 9.

infringement

infringement of that law. My reasons follow.

I urge, in the first place, the equal number of males and females, as a clear indication that Providence intends every man to be confined to one wife, and every woman to one husband. That equality, which has subsisted in all countries and at all times, is a signal instance of over-ruling Providence; for the chances against it are infinite. All men are by nature equal in rank: no man is privileged above another to have a wife; and therefore polygamy is contradictory to the plan of Providence. Were ten women born for one man, as is erroneously reported to be the case in Bantam, polygamy might be the intention of Providence; but from the equality of males and females, it is clearly the voice of nature, as well as of the sacred scripture, "That a man shall leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and they shall be one flesh."

Consider, in the next place, that however plausible polygamy may appear in the present state of things, where inequality of rank and of fortune have produced luxury and sensuality; yet that the laws of

nature were not contrived by our Maker for a forc'd state, where numberless individuals are degraded below their natural rank, for the benefit of a few who are elevated above it. To form a just notion of polygamy, we must look back to the original state of man, where all are equal. In that state, every man cannot have two wives ; and consequently no man is intitled to more than one, till every other be upon an equal footing with him. At the same time, the union of one man with one woman is much better calculated for continuing the race, than the union of one man with many women. Think of a savage who may have fifty or sixty children by different wives, all depending for food upon his industry : chance must turn out much in his favour, if the half of them perish not by hunger. How much a better chance for life have infants who are distributed more equally in different families ?

Polygamy has an effect still more pernicious, with respect to children even of the most opulent families. Unless affection be reciprocal and equal, there can be no proper society in the matrimonial state, no cordiality, nor due care of offspring.

But such affection is inconsistent with polygamy : a woman in that state, far from being a companion to her husband, is degraded to the rank of a servant, a mere instrument of pleasure and propagation. Among many wives there will always be a favourite : the rest turn peevish ; and if they resent not the injury against their husband, and against their children as belonging to him, they will at least be disheartened, and turn negligent of them. At the same time, fondness for the favourite wife and her children, makes the husband indifferent about the rest ; and woful is the condition of children who are neglected by both parents (*a*). To produce such an effect, is certainly not the purpose of nature.

It merits peculiar attention, that Providence has provided for an agreeable union, among all creatures who are taught by nature to pair. Animal love among creatures who pair not, is confined within a narrow space of time : while the dam is occupied about her young, animal love lies dormant, that she may not be abstracted from her duty. In pairing animals,

(*a*) *L'esprit des loix*, liv. 16. chap. 6.

on the contrary, animal love is always awake : frequent enjoyment endears a pair to each other, and makes constancy a pleasure. Such is the case of the human race ; and such is the case of wild birds (*a*). Among the wild birds that build on trees, the male, after feeding his mate in the nest, plants himself upon the next spray, and chears her with a song *. There is still greater enjoyment provided for the human race in the matrimonial state, and stronger incitements to constancy. Sweet is the society of a pair fitted for each other, in whom are collected the affections of husband, wife, lover, friend, the tenderest affections of human nature. Public government is in perfection, when the sovereign commands with humanity, and the subjects are cordial in their obedience. Private government in conjugal society arrives at still greater perfection, where husband and wife govern and are

* A male canary bird, singing to his mate on her nest in a breeding cage, fell down dead. The female alarmed left her nest and pecked at him : finding him immoveable, she refused nourishment and died at his side.

(*a*) Buffon, liv. 5. p. 359. octavo edition.

governed reciprocally, with entire satisfaction to both. The man bears rule over his wife's person and conduct; she bears rule over his inclinations: he governs by law; she by persuasion. Nor can her authority ever fail, where it is supported by sweetness of temper, and zeal to make him happy *.

The

* L'empire de la femme est un empire de douceur, d'adresse, et de complaisance; ses ordres sont des caresses, ses menaces sont des pleurs. Elle doit regner dans la maison comme un ministre dans l'état, en se faisant commander ce qu'elle veut faire. En ce sens il est constant que les meilleurs ménages sont ceux où la femme a le plus d'autorité. Mais quand elle meconnait la voix du chef, qu'elle veut usurper ses droits et commander elle-même; il ne resulte jamais de ce désordre, que misere, scandale, et deshonneur. *Rousseau Emile*, liv. 5, p. 96.—[In English thus: “The empire of the woman is an “empire of softness, of address, of complacen-“cy; her commands are caresses, her menaces “are tears. She ought to reign in the fami-“ly like a minister in the state, by making that “which is her inclination be enjoined to her as “her duty. Thus it is evident, that the best do-“mestic economy is that where the wife has most “authority. But when she is insensible to the “voice of her chief, when she tries to usurp his “prerogative, and to command alone, what can “result from such disorder, but misery, scandal, “and dishonour?”] — The Empress Livia being questioned

The God of nature has enforc'd conjugal society, not only by making it agreeable, but by the principle of chastity inherent in our nature. To animals that have no instinct for pairing, chastity is utterly unknown ; and to them it would be useless. The mare, the cow, the ewe, the she-goat, receive the male without ceremony, and admit the first that comes in the way without distinction. Neither have tame fowl any notion of chastity : they pair not ; and the female gets no food from the male, even during incubation. But chastity and mutual fidelity are essen-

questioned by a married lady, how she had obtained such ascendant over her husband Augustus, answered, " By being obedient to his commands, by not " wishing to know his secrets, and by hiding my " knowledge of his amours." The late Queen of Spain was a woman of singular prudence, and of solid judgement. A character of her, published after her death, contains the following passage. " She " had a great ascendancy over the King, founded " on his persuasion of her superior sense, which " she show'd in a perfect submission to his com- " mands ; the more easily obey'd, as they were " commonly, tho' to him imperceptibly, dictated " by herself. She cured him of many foibles, and " in a word was his Minerva, under the appearance " of Mentor."

tial to all pairing animals; for wandering inclinations would render them negligent in nursing their young. Wild birds pair; and they are by instinct faithful to each other, while their young require nurture. Chastity is essential to the human race; enforc'd by the principle of chastity, a branch of the moral sense. Chastity is essential even to the continuation of the human race. As the carnal appetite is always alive, the sexes would wallow in pleasure and be soon rendered unfit for procreation, were it not for the restraint of chastity.

Nor is chastity confined to the matrimonial state. Matrimony is instituted by nature for continuing the species; and it is the duty of man to abstain from animal enjoyment, except in that state. The ceremonies of marriage and the causes of separation and divorce, are subjected to municipal law: but if a man beget children, it is his duty to unite with the mother in taking care of them; and such union is matrimony according to the law of nature. Hence it is, that the first acts of incontinence, where enjoyment only is in view, are always attended with shame, and with

a degree of remorse *. At the same time, as chastity in persons who are single is only a self-duty, it is not so strongly enforc'd by the moral sense as chastity is in married persons, who owe fidelity to each other. Deviations accordingly from the former make a less figure than from the latter: we scarce ever hear of adultery among savages; tho' among them incontinence before marriage, is not uncommon. In Wales, even at present, and in the highlands of Scotland, it is scarce a disgrace for a young woman to have a bastard. In the country last mentioned, the first instance known of a bastard-child being destroy'd by its mother through shame, is a late one. The virtue of chastity appears to be there gaining ground; as the only temptation a woman can have to destroy her child, is, to conceal her frailty. The principle of chastity, like that of property or of decency, is faint among savages;

* Quand enfin cette aimable jeunesse vient à se marier, les deux époux se donnant mutuellement les premices de leur personne, en sont plus chers l'un à l'autre; des multitudes d'enfans fains et robustes deviennent le gage d'une union que rien n'altère. *Rousseau Emile.*

and has little of that influence which prevails among polished nations before they are corrupted by luxury. We shall have occasion to see afterward, that even the great duty of justice is faint among barbarians ; and that it yields readily to every irregular impulse, before the moral sense has arrived to maturity.

- Chastity is a restraint upon nature ; and therefore, if shame be removed by making it lawful to obey the appetite, nature will prevail. In the year 1707, a contagious distemper having carried off a large proportion of the inhabitants of Iceland, the King of Denmark fell on a device to re-people the country, which succeeded to a wish. A law was made, authorising young women in that island to have bastards, even to the number of six, without wounding their reputation *. The young women were so zealous to repeople their

* Don Juan de Ulloa, in his voyage to Perú, mentions a very singular taste prevalent in that country, that a man never takes a virgin to wife ; and thinks himself dishonoured if his wife have not, before marriage, enjoy'd many lovers. If we can trust Paulus Venetus, a young woman of Thibet, in Asia, is not reckoned fit to be married till she be deflowered.

country, that after a few years, it was found proper to abrogate the law.

Modesty is by nature intended to guard chastity, as chastity is to guard matrimony. And modesty, like chastity, is one of those delicate principles that make no great figure among savages. In the land of Jesso, young women sometimes go naked in summer: if however they meet a stranger, they hang the head, and turn away through shame. Nature here is their only instructor *. Some savage tribes have so little notion of modesty, as to go naked, without even covering their privy parts. Regnard reports upon his own knowledge, that in Lapland, man, woman, and child, take the hot bath promiscuously, and are not ashamed to be seen in that condition, even by a stranger. As this appeared singular, I took opportunity to mention it to Dr Solander, who had made more than one visit to that country. He said, that Regnard's report might be true; but without any imputa-

* Doth not modesty prevail among many animals? Elephants are never seen in copulation, nor cats, nor beasts of prey.

tion on the modesty of the Laplanders, for that their place of bathing is always so dark that nothing can be seen. He added, that the females in Lapland, both married and unmarried, are extremely chaste. The inhabitants of Otaheite, if Bougainville can be trusted, seem to have as little notion of modesty as of chastity. But many of that author's facts stand contradicted by later voyagers. The women of New Zeland are both chaste and modest. Captain Cook, in his voyage round the world, stumbled upon some of them naked, diving for lobsters; and they were in great confusion for being seen in that condition by strangers.

But now, if pairing in the strictest sense be a law of nature among men, as among some other animals, how is polygamy to be accounted for, which formerly was universal, and to this day obtains among many nations? Polygamy, I answer, is derived from two sources; first, from savage manners, once universal; and next, from voluptuousness in warm climates, which instigates men of wealth to transgress every rule of temperance. These two sources I purpose to handle with care, because

because they make a large branch in the history of the female sex.

With respect to the first, sweetnes of temper, a capital article in the female character, displays itself externally by mild looks and gentle manners. But such graces are scarce discernible in a female savage ; and even in the most polished women, would not be perceived by a male savage. Among savages, strength and boldness are the only valued qualities : in these females are miserably deficient ; and for that reason, are contemned by the males, as beings of an inferior order. The North-American tribes glory in idleness : the drudgery of labour degrades a man in their opinion, and is proper for women only. To join young persons in marriage is accordingly the busines of parents ; and it would be unpardonable meanness in the bridegroom, to shew any fondness for the bride. Young men among the Hottentots, are admitted into society with their seniors at the age of eighteen ; after which it is disgraceful to keep company with women. In Guiana, a woman never eats with her husband ; but after every meal attends him with water for washing.

the Caribbee islands, she is not permitted to eat even in presence of her husband ; and yet we are assured (*a*), that women there obey with such sweetness and respect, as never to give their husbands occasion to remind them of their duty ; “ an example,” adds our sage author, “ worthy the imitation of Christian wives, who are daily instructed from the pulpit in the duties of obedience and conjugal fidelity, *but to very little purpose.*” Dampier observes in general, that among all the wild nations he was acquainted with, the women carry the burdens, while the men walk before, and carry nothing but their arms. Women even of the highest rank are not better treated. The sovereign of Giaga, in Africa, has many wives, who are literally his slaves : one carries his bow, one his arrows, and one gives him drink ; and while he is drinking, they all fall on their knees, clap their hands, and sing. Not many centuries ago, a law was made in England, prohibiting the New Testament in English to be read by women, ‘prentices, journeymen,

(*a*) Labat’s voyages to the American islands.

or serving men (*a*). What a pitiful figure must the poor females have made in that age ! In Siberia, and even in Russia, the capital excepted, men treat their wives in every respect as slaves. The regulations of Peter I. put marriage upon a more respectable footing among people of rank ; and yet such are the brutal manners of the Russians, that tyrannical treatment of wives is far from being eradicated.

The low condition of the female sex among savages and barbarians, paved the way to polygamy. Savages, excited by a taste for variety, and still more by pride which is gratified by many servants, delight in a multiplicity of wives. The pairing principle, tho' rooted in human nature, makes little figure among savages, yielding to every irregular appetite ; and this fairly accounts why polygamy was once universal. It might indeed be thought, that animal love, were there nothing else, should have raised women to some degree of estimation among the men. But male savages, utter strangers to decency or refinement, gratify animal love

(*a*) 34th and 35th Henry VIII. cap. 1.

with as little ceremony as they do hunger or thirst.

Hence appears the reason of a practice that will surprise those who are unacquainted with ancient customs; which is, that a man purchased a woman to be his wife, as one purchases an ox or a sheep to be food. Women by marriage became slaves; and no man will give his daughter to be a slave, but for a valuable consideration. The practice was universal. I begin with the Jews. Abraham bought Rebekah, and gave her to his son Isaac for a wife (*a*). Jacob having nothing else to give, served Laban fourteen years for two wives (*b*). Sechem demanding in marriage Dinah, Jacob's daughter, said, “Ask ‘ me never so much dowry and gift, and ‘ I will give according as ye shall say un- ‘ to me: but give me the damsel to ‘ wife (*c*).” To David demanding Saul's daughter in marriage, Saul said, “ The ‘ king desireth not any dowry, but an ‘ hundred foreskins of the Philistines (*d*).” In the Iliad, Agamemnon offers his daugh-

(*a*) Genesis, xxiv. 53.

(*b*) Genesis, chap. xxix.

(*c*) Genesis, xxxiv. 12.

(*d*) 1 Samuel, xviii. 25.

ter to Achilles for a wife; and says, that he would not demand for her any price. Pausanias reports of Danaus, that no suitors appearing to demand any of his daughters, he published, that he would give them without dowry. In Homer, there is frequent mention of nuptial gifts from a bridegroom to his bride's father. From terming them gifts, it is probable that the former method of purchase was beginning to wear out. It wore out before the time of Aristotle; who infers, that their forefathers must have been a very rude people. The ancient Spaniards purchased their wives. We have the authority of Herodotus and of Heraclides Ponticus, that the Thracians followed the same practice. The latter adds, that if a wife was ill treated, her relations could demand her back, upon repaying the price they got for her. In the Roman law mention is made of matrimony *per as et libram*, which was solemnized by laying down a quantity of brass with a balance for weighing it, understood to be the price paid for the bride. This must have been once a reality; tho' it sunk down to be a mere ceremony, after it became customary for

for a Roman bride to bring a dowry with her. The Babylonians and the Assyrians, at stated times, collected all the marriageable young women, and disposed of them by auction. Rubrugis, in his voyage to Tartary *ann. 1253*, reports, that there every man bought his wife. “ They believe,” he adds, that their wives serve “ them in another world as they do in “ this; for which reason, a widow has “ no chance for a second husband, whom “ she cannot serve in the other world.” Olaus Magnus, remarking that among the ancient Goths no dower was provided on the bride’s part, gives a reason, better suited perhaps to the time he lived in, than to what he describes. “ Apud Gothos, “ non mulier viro sed vir mulieri dotem “ assignat; ne conjux, ob magnitudinem “ dotis insolescens, aliquando ex placida “ conforto proterva evadet, atque in ma- “ ritum dominari contendat *;” as if the hazard of petulance in a wife would hinder a man to accept a dower with her:—

* “ Among the Goths, a man gave a dowry for his bride, instead of receiving one with her; to prevent pride and insolence, that commonly accompany riches on the woman’s part.”

a sad doctrine for an heiress. There is preserved in the abbey of St Peter a charter, judged to be 700 years old, in which the Countess of Amiens gifts to the said abbey land she received from her husband at their marriage, “ according to the Salic law,” says she, “ obliging the husband to give a dowry to his wife.” By the laws of King Ethelbert, sect. 32. a man who committed adultery with his neighbour’s wife, was obliged to pay him a fine, and to buy him another wife. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his description of Wales, says, that formerly they hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation ; it having been customary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial, for a sum of money told down, and under a penalty if the girls were returned. This I believe to be a mistake. It is more probable, that in Wales men purchased their wives, as was done all the world over, with liberty to return them if they proved not agreeable. The bride’s parents retained the dowry, and her chance for a husband was as good as ever.

The same custom continues among barbarous nations. It continues among the

Tartars, among the Mingrelians, among the Samoides, among the Ostiacs, among the people of Pegu, and of the Molucca islands. In Timor, an East-Indian island, men sell even their children to purchase more wives. The Prince of Circassia demanded from the Prince of Mingrelia, who was in suit of his daughter, a hundred slaves loaded with tapestry and other household furniture, a hundred cows, as many oxen, and as many horses. We have evidence of the same custom in Africa, particularly in Biledulgerid, among the negroes on the sea-coast, and in Monomotapa. Among the Caribbees there is one instance where a man gets a wife without paying for her. After a successful war, the victors are entertained at a feast, where the General harangues on the valour of the young men who made the best figure. Every man who has marriageable daughters, is fond to offer them to such young men without any price. The purchasing of wives is universal among the wild Arabs. When the bargain is concluded, the bridegroom is permitted to visit the bride: if she answer not his expectations, he may turn her off; but has no claim

claim for the price he paid. In Arabia, says Niebuhr, a young married woman suspected of not being a virgin, is sent back to her father, who must restore the price that was paid for her. The inland negroes are more polished than those on the coast ; and there is scarce any remains among them of purchasing wives : the bridegroom makes presents to his bride, and her father makes presents to him. There are remaining traces in Russia of purchasing wives. Even so late as the time of Peter I. Russians married without seeing each other ; and before solemnization, the bride received from the bridegroom a present of sweetmeats, soap, and other little things.

The purchasing of wives, made it a lawful practice, to lend a wife as one does a slave. The Spartans lent their wives to their friends ; and Cato the elder is said to have done the same. The Indians of Calicut frequently exchange wives.

If brutish manners alone be sufficient to degrade the female sex, they may reckon upon harsh treatment when purchased to be slaves. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the central parts of Afri-

ca, being supinely idle at home, subject their wives and their slaves to every sort of drudgery, such as digging, sowing, reaping, cutting wood, grinding corn, fetching water, &c. These poor creatures are suffered to toil in the fields and woods, ready to faint with excessive labour; while the monsters of men, will not give themselves the trouble even of training animals for work, tho' they have the example of the Portuguese before their eyes. It is the business of the women among the wandering Arabs of Africa, to card, spin, and weave, and to manage other household affairs. They milk the cattle, grind, bake, brew, dress the victuals, and bring home wood and water. They even take care of their husband's horses, feed, curry, comb, bridle, and saddle them. They would also be obliged, like Moorish wives, to dig, sow, and reap their corn; but luckily for them the Arabs live entirely upon plunder. Father Joseph Gumilla, in his account of a country in South America, bordering upon the great river Oroonoko, describes pathetically the miserable slavery of married women there; and mentions a practice, that would appear incredible to one

one unacquainted with that country, which is, that married women frequently destroy their female infants. A married woman, of a virtuous character and good understanding, having been guilty of that crime, was reproached by our author in bitter terms. She heard him patiently with eyes fixed on the ground ; and answered as follows. “ I wish to “ God, Father, I wish to God, that my “ mother had by my death prevented the “ manifold distresses I have endured, and “ have yet to endure as long as I live. “ Had she kindly stifled me at birth, I “ had not felt the pain of death, nor num- “ berless other pains that life hath sub- “ jected me to. Consider, Father, our “ deplorable condition. Our husbands “ go to hunt with their bows and arrows, “ and trouble themselves no farther. We “ are dragged along, with one infant at “ the breast, and another in a basket. “ They return in the evening without any “ burden : we return with the burden of “ our children ; and, tho’ tired with a “ long march, are not permitted to sleep, “ but must labour the whole night, in “ grinding maize to make chica for “ them.

" them. They get drunk, and in their
" drunkenness beat us, draw us by the
" hair of the head, and tread us under
" foot. And what have we to comfort us
" for slavery that has no end ? A young
" wife is brought in upon us, who is per-
" mitted to abuse us and our children,
" because we are no longer regarded.
" Can human nature endure such ty-
" ranny ! What kindness can we show to
" our female children equal to that of re-
" lieving them from such oppression,
" more bitter a thousand times than
" death ? I say again, would to God that
" my mother had put me under ground
" the moment I was born." One would
readily imagine, that the women of that
country should have the greatest abhor-
rence at matrimony : but all-prevailing
nature determines the contrary ; and the
appetite for matrimony overbalances e-
very rational consideration.

Nations polish by degrees ; and, from
the lowest state to which a human crea-
ture can be reduced, women were resto-
red to their native dignity. Attention to
dress is the first symptom of the progress.
Male savages, even of the grossest kind,
are

are fond of drefs. Charlevoix mentions a young American hired as a rower, who adjusted his dress with care before he entered the boat; and at intervals inspected his looking-glass, to see whether violence of motion had not discomposed the red upon his cheeks. We read not of passion for dress in females of such savage nations: they are too much dispirited to think of being agreeable. Among nations in any degree humanized, a different scene opens. In the isthmus of Darien government has made some progress, and a chieftain is elected for life: a glimmering of civility appears among the inhabitants; and as some regard is paid to women, they rival the men in dress. Both sexes wear rings in their ears and noses; and are adorned with many rows of shells hanging from the neck. A female in a sultry climate submits to fry all day long, under a load of twenty or thirty pounds of shells; and a male under double that load. Well may they exclaim with Alexander, "Oh Athenians! what do I not "endure to gain your approbation." The female Caribbeans and Brasilians, are no less fond of ornament than the males.

Hottentot

Hottentot ladies strive to outdo each other in adorning their krosses, and the bag that holds their pipe and tobacco : European ladies are not more vain of their silks and embroideries. Women in Lapland are much addicted to finery. They wear broad girdles, upon which hang chains and rings without end, commonly made of tin, sometimes of silver, weighing perhaps twenty pounds. The Greenlanders are nasty and slovenly, eat with their dogs, make food of the vermin that make food of them, seldom or never wash themselves ; and yet the women, who make some figure among the men, are gaudy in their dress. Their chief ornaments are pendants at their ears, with glafs beads of various colours ; and they draw lines with a needle and black thread between their eyes, cross the forehead, upon the chin, hands, and legs. The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea, have made a considerable progress in police, and in the art of living. Their women carry dress and finery to an extravagance. They are cloathed with loads of the finest satins and chintzes, and are adorned with a profusion of gold. In a sultry climate,

they gratify vanity at the expence of ease. Among the inland negroes, who are more polished than those on the sea-coast, the women, beside domestic concerns, sow, plant, and reap. A man however suffers in the esteem of his neighbours, if he permit his wives to toil like slaves, while he is indulging in ease.

From that auspicious commencement, the female sex have risen in a slow but steady progress, to higher and higher degrees of estimation. Conversation is their talent, and a display of delicate sentiments: the gentleness of their manners and winning behaviour, captivate every sensible heart. Of such refinements, savages have little conception: but when the more delicate senses are unfolded, the peculiar beauties of the female sex, internal as well as external, are brought into full light; and women, formerly considered as objects of animal love merely, are now valued as faithful friends and agreeable companions. Matrimony assumes a more decent form, being the union, not of a master and slave, but of two persons equal in rank uniting to form a family. And it contributed greatly to this delicious re-

finement, that in temperate climes animal love is moderate, and women long retain good looks, and power of procreation. Thus marriage became honourable among polished nations : which banished the barbarous custom of purchasing wives ; for a man who wishes to have his daughter advantageously matched, will gladly give a dowry with her.

Polygamy is intimately connected with the custom of purchasing wives. There is no limitation in purchasing slaves : nor has a woman purchased as a wife or a slave, any just cause for complaining that others are purchased as she was : on the contrary, addition of hands for performing the servile offices of the family, is some relief to her. Polygamy accordingly has always been permitted, where men pay for their wives. The Jews purchased their wives, and were indulged in polygamy (*a*). Diodorus Siculus says, that polygamy was permitted in Egypt, except to priests (*b*). This probably was the case originally ; but when the Egyptian manners came to be polished, a man gave a dowry with his daughter, instead of recei-

(*a*) Leviticus, xviii. 18.

(*b*) Lib. i.

ving a price for her; witness Solomon, who got the city of Gazer in dowry with the King of Egypt's daughter. When that custom became universal, we may be certain that it put an end to polygamy. And accordingly Herodotus affirms, that polygamy was prohibited in Egypt (*a*). Polygamy undoubtedly prevailed in Greece and Rome, while it was customary to purchase wives; but improved manners put an end to the latter, and consequently to the former. Polygamy to this day obtains in the cold country of Kamtschatka; and in the still colder country round Hudson's bay. In the land of Jesso, near Japan, a man may have two wives, who perform every sort of domestic drudgery. The negroes in general purchase their wives, and indulge in polygamy: and this is also law in Monomotapa. Polygamy and the purchasing wives were customary among the original inhabitants of the Canary islands, and among the people of Chili.

The low condition of women among barbarians introduced the purchasing them for wives, and consequently polygamy.

(*a*) Lib. 2. § 92.

The just respect paid to them among civilized nations, restored the law of nature, and confined a man to one wife. Their equality as to rank and dignity, bars the man from taking another wife, as it bars the woman from taking another husband. We find traces in ancient history of polygamy wearing out gradually. It wore out in Greece, as manners refined; but such was the influence of long habit, that tho' a man was confined to one wife, he was indulged in concubines without limitation. In Germany, when Tacitus wrote, very few traces remained of polygamy.

“Severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris: nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur *.”

As polygamy was in that country little

* “ Marriage is there rigidly respected; nor is there any part of their morality more laudable: for they are almost the only race of barbarians who are contented with a single wife; a very few excepted, who, not from incontinency, but from an ambition of nobility, take more wives than one.”

practised,

practised, we may be certain the purchasing wives did not remain in vigour. And Tacitus accordingly, mentioning the general rule “*dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert* *,” explains it away by observing, that the only *dos* given by the bridegroom were marriage-presents, and that he at the same time received marriage-presents on the bride's part (*a*). The equality of the matrimonial engagement for the mutual benefit of husband and wife, was well understood among the Gauls. Cæsar (*b*) says, “*Viri quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine accepérunt, tantas ex suis bonis, æstimatione facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pecuniæ conjunctim ratio habetur, fructusque servantur. Uter eorum vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum perum pervenit* †.” In Japan, and in Nicaragua,

* “ The husband gives a dowry to the wife, but the wife brings none to the husband.”

† “ Whatever sum the husband has received as his wife's portion, he joins as much of his own

(*a*) *De moribus Germanorum*, cap. 18.

(*b*) *Lib. 6. cap. 19. De bello Gallico.*

“ effects.

Nicaragua, a man can have but one wife ; but he may have many concubines. In Siam, polygamy is still permitted, though the bride brings a dowry with her : but that absurdity is corrected by refined manners ; it being held improper, and even disgraceful, to have more than one wife. The purchasing wives wore out of fashion among the ancient Tuscans ; for it was held infamous, that marriage should be the result of any motive but mutual love. This at the same time put an end to polygamy. Polygamy was probably early eradicated among the ancient Persians ; for the bride's dowry was settled in marriage-articles, as among us. And there is the same reason for presuming, that it was not long permitted in Mexico ; marriage there being solemnized by the priest, and the bride's dower specified, which was restored in case of separation. In the countries where the Christian religion was first propagated, women were fast advancing

“ effects. An account is kept of this joint stock,
“ and the fruits of it are preserved. Upon the
“ death of either, the surviving spouse has the pro-
“ perty of both the shares, with the fruits or pro-
“ fits.”

to an equality with the men, and polygamy was wearing out of fashion. The pure spirit of the gospel hastened its extinction ; and tho' not prohibited expressly, it was however held, that Christianity is a religion too pure for polygamy.

But, as hinted above, it was by slow degrees that the female sex emerged out of slavery, to possess the elevated station they are intitled to by nature. The practice of exposing infants among the Greeks and many other nations, is an invincible proof of their depression, even after the custom ceased of purchasing them. It is wisely ordered by Providence, that the affection of a woman to her children commences with their birth ; because during infancy all depends on her care. As during that period, the father is of little use to his child, his affection is but slight, till the child begin to prattle and shew some fondness for him. The exposing an infant therefore shows, that the mother was little regarded : if she had been allowed a vote, the practice never would have obtained in any country. In the first book of the Iliad, Achilles says to Agamemnon, who threatened to force from him his mistress

Briseis,

Briseis, “Another thing I will tell thee :
 “ record it in thy soul. For a woman
 “ these hands shall never fight, with thee
 “ nor with thy foes. Come, seize Briseis :
 “ ye Argives, take the prize ye gave.
 “ But beware of other spoil, which lies
 “ stowed in my ships on the shore. I
 “ will not be plundered farther. If other
 “ be thy thoughts, Atrides, come in
 “ arms, a trial make : these very slaves
 “ of thine shall behold thy blood pouring
 “ around my spear *.” The comedies of

* Pope disguises that sentiment as follows.

“ Seize on Briseis, whom the Grecians doom’d
 “ My prize of war, yet tamely see resum’d ;
 “ And seize secure ; no more Achilles draws
 “ His conqu’ring sword in any woman’s cause.
 “ The gods command me to forgive the past ;
 “ But let this first invasion be the last :
 “ For know, thy blood, when next thou dar’st invade,
 “ Shall stream in vengeance on my reeking blade.”

Such contempt of the female sex as expressed by Achilles was perhaps thought too gross for a modern ear. But did not Pope discover, that one capital beauty in Homer, is the delineation of ancient manners ? At that rate, had it fallen to his share to describe Julius Cæsar, he would have dressed him like a modern beau. And why not ? for in a genteel assembly, what a savage would he appear, without breeches, and without linen !

Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, are lost; but manners must have been little polished in their time, as far as can be conjectured from their translators or imitators, Plautus and Terence. Married women in their comedies are sometimes introduced, and treated with very little respect. A man commonly vents his wrath on his wife; and scolds her as the cause of the misconduct of their children. A lady, perhaps too inquisitive about her husband's amours, is addressed by him in the following words.

“ Ni mala, ni stulta sis, ni indomita impósque animi,
 “ Quod viro esse odio videas, tute tibi odio habeas.
 “ Præter hac si mihi tale post hunc diem
 “ Faxis, faxo foris vidua visas patrem *.”

So little formerly were women regarded in England, that the benefit of clergy was not extended to them, till the days of William and Mary when an act of

* “ Would you be held a wife and virtuous spouse,-
 “ And of discretion due, observe this counsel:
 “ Whatever I, your lord, blame or approve,
 “ Still let your praise or censure be the same.
 “ But hearke, — be this reprimand the last:
 “ If you again offend, no more a wife
 “ Within these walls; —your father has you back.”

parliament was made bestowing that privilege on them.

One will not be surprised, that women in Greece were treated with no great respect by their husbands. A woman cannot have much attraction who passes all her time in solitude: to be admired, she must receive the polish of society. At the same time, men of fashion were so much improved in manners, as to relish society with agreeable women, where such could be found. And hence the figure that courtezans made at that period, especially in Athens. They studied the temper and taste of the men, and endeavoured to gain their affection, by every winning art. The daily conversations they listened to, on philosophy, politics, poetry, enlightened their understanding and improved their taste. Their houses became agreeable schools, where every one might be instructed in his own art. Socrates and Pericles met frequently at the house of Aspasia: from her they acquired delicacy of taste, and in return procured to her public respect and reputation. Greece at that time was governed by orators, over whom some celebrated courtezans had great

great influence ; and by that means entered deep into the government. It was said of the famous Demosthenes, “ The mean-
“ sure he hath meditated on for a year,
“ will be overturned in a day by a wo-
“ man.” It appears accordingly from Plautus and Terence, that Athenian cour-
tezans lived in great splendor. See in particular *Heautontimoroumenos*, act 3.
scene 2.

I proceed to the other cause of polyga-
my, viz. opulence in a hot climate. Men there have a burning appetite for animal enjoyment ; and women become old and lose the prolific quality, at an age which carries them little beyond the prime of life in a temperate climate. These circum-
stances dispose men of opulence to purchase their wives, that they may not be confined to one ; and purchase they must, for no man, without a valuable consideration, will surrender his daughter, to be one of many who are destined to gratify the carnal appetite of a single man. The numerous wives and concubines in Asiatic harems, are all of them purchased with money. In the hot climate of Hindostan, polygamy is universal, and men

buy their wives. The same obtains in China: after the price is adjusted and paid, the bride is conducted to the bridegroom's house, locked in a sedan, and the key delivered to him: if he be not satisfied with his bargain, he sends her back at the expence of losing the sum he paid for her: if satisfied, he feasts his male friends in one room, and she her female friends in another. A man who has little substance, takes a wife for his son from a hospital, which saves him a dowry.

It has been pleaded for polygamy in warm climates, that women are fit for being married at or before the age of ten; that they are past child-bearing at twenty-five, while men are yet in the prime of life; and therefore that a second wife ought to be permitted who can bear children. Are women then created for no other purpose but procreation merely, to be laid aside as useless animals when they cease to bear children? In the hottest climates, a woman may be the mother of ten or twelve children; and are not both parents usefully employ'd, in rearing such a number and fitting them to do for themselves? After this important task is performed,

formed, is not the woman well intitled, for the remainder of life, to enjoy the conjugal society of a man, to whom she dedicated the flower of her youth ? But even attending to the male sex only without paying any regard to the other sex, it ought to be considered, that a man, by taking a second wife, prevents some other man from having any. The argument for polygamy would indeed be conclusive, were ten females born for one male, as is said to be the case in Bantam : but as an equality of males and females is the inviolable rule of nature, the argument has no force. All men are born equal by nature ; and to permit polygamy in any degree, is to authorise some to usurp the privilege of others.

Thus in hot climates women remain in the same humble and dependent state, in which all women were originally, when all men were savages. Women by the law of Hindostan are not admitted to be witnesses, even in a civil cause ; and I blush to acknowledge, that in Scotland the same law has not been long in disuse.

In contradiction to the climate, Christianity has banished polygamy from Ethiopia,

thiopia, tho' the judges are far from being severe upon that crime. The heat of the climate makes them wish to indulge in a plurality of wives, even at the expence of purchasng each of them. Among the Christians of Congo polygamy is in use, as formerly when they were Pagans. To be confined to one wife during life, is held by the most zealous Christians there, to be altogether irrational: rather than be so confined, they would renounce Christianity.

Beside polygamy, many other customs depend on the nature of the matrimonial engagement, and vary according to its different kinds. Marriage-ceremonies, for that reason, vary in different countries, and at different times. Where the practice is to purchase a wife, whether among savages or among pampered people in hot climates, payment of the price completes the marriage without any other ceremony. Other ceremonies however are sometimes practised. In old Rome, the bride was attended to the bridegroom's house with a female slave carrying a distaff and a spindle, importing that she ought to spin for the family. Among the savages of Canada

Canada and of the neighbouring countries, a strap, a kettle, and a faggot, are put in the bride's cabin, as symbols of her duty, viz. to carry burdens, to dress victuals, and to provide wood. On the other hand, the bride, in token of her slavery, takes her axe, cuts wood, bundles it up, and lays it before the door of the bridegroom's hut. All the salutation she receives is, "It is time to go to rest." The inhabitants of Sierra Leona, a negro country, have in all their towns a boarding-school, where young ladies are educated for a year, under the care of a venerable old gentleman. When their education is completed, they are carried in their best attire to a public assembly; which may be termed a matrimonial market, because there young men convene to make a choice. Those who fit themselves to their fancy, pay the dowry; and over and above, gratify the old superintendant for his extraordinary care in educating the bride. In the island of Java, the bride, in token of subjection, washes the bridegroom's feet; and this is a capital ceremony. In Russia, the bride presents to the bridegroom a bundle of rods, to be used

fed against her when she deserves to be chastised ; and at the same time she pulls off his boots. The present Empress, intent upon reforming the rude manners of her subjects, has discountenanced that ceremony among people of fashion. Very different were the manners of Peru, before the Spanish conquest. The bridegroom carried shoes to the bride, and put them on with his own hands. But there, purchasing of wives was unknown. Marriage-ceremonies in Lapland are directed by the same principle. It is the custom there for a man to make presents to his children of rain-deer ; and young women, such as have a large stock of these animals, have lovers in plenty. A young man looks for such a wife, at a fair, or at a meeting for paying taxes. He carries to the house of the young woman's parents, some of his relations ; being solicitous in particular to have an eloquent speaker. They are all admitted except the lover, who must wait till he be called in. After drinking some spirits, brought along for the purpose, the spokesman addresses the father in humble terms, bowing the knee as if he were introduced to a prince. He

styles him, the worshipful father, the high and mighty father, the best and most illustrious father, &c. &c.

In viewing the chain of causes and effects, instances sometimes occur of bizarre facts, starting from the chain without any cause that can be discovered. The marriage-ceremonies among the Hottentots are of that nature. After all matters are adjusted among the old people, the young couple are shut up by themselves; and pass the night in struggling for superiority, which proves a very serious work where the bride is reluctant. If she persevere to the last without yielding, the young man is discarded; but if he prevail, which commonly happens, the marriage is completed by another ceremony, no less singular. The men and women squat on the ground in different circles, the bridegroom in the centre of one, and the bride in the centre of another. The Suri, or master of religious ceremonies, pisses on the bridegroom; who receives the stream with eagerness, and rubs it into the furrows of the fat with which he is covered. He performs the same ceremony on the bride, who is equally re-

spectful. The ceremonies of marriage among the present Greeks are no less bizarre. Among other particulars, the bridegroom and bride walk three rounds ; during which they are kicked and cuffed heartily. Our author Tournefort adds, that he only and his companions forbore to join in the ceremony ; which was ascribed to their rusticity and ignorance of polite manners. Marriage-ceremonies among the Kamtsatkans are extremely whimsical. A young man, after making his proposals, enters into the service of his intended father-in-law. If he prove agreeable, he is admitted to the trial of the *touch*. The young woman is swaddled up in leatheren thongs ; and in that condition is put under the guard of some old women. Watching every opportunity of a slack guard, he endeavours to uncase her, in order to touch what is always the most concealed. The bride must resist, in appearance at least ; and therefore cries out for her guards ; who fall with fury on the bridegroom, tear his hair, scratch his face, and act in violent opposition. The attempts of the lover prove sometimes unsuccessful for months ; but the moment

the

the *touch* is atchieved, the bride testifies her satisfaction, by pronouncing the words *Ni, Ni*, with a soft and loving voice. The next night they bed together without any opposition. One marriage-ceremony among the inland negroes, is singular. As soon as preliminaries areadjusted, the bridegroom with a number of his companions set out at night; and surround the house of the bride, as if intending to carry her off by force. She and her female attendants, pretending to make all possible resistance, cry aloud for help, but no person appears. This resembles strongly a marriage-ceremony that is or was customary in Wales. On the morning of the wedding-day, the bridegroom, accompanied with his friends on horseback, demands the bride. Her friends, who are likewise on horseback, give a positive refusal, upon which a mock scuffle ensues. The bride, mounted behind her nearest kinsman, is carried off, and is pursued by the bridegroom and his friends, with loud shouts. It is not uncommon on such an occasion to see two or three hundred sturdy Cambro-Britons riding at full speed, crossing and jostling, to the no small amusement

ment of the spectators. When they have fatigued themselves and their horses, the bridegroom is suffered to overtake his bride. He leads her away in triumph, and the scene is concluded with feasting and festivity. The same marriage-ceremony was usual in Muscovy, Lithuania, and Livonia, as reported by Olaus Magnus (*a*).

Divorce also depends on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where the law is, that a man must purchase his wife as one does a slave; it follows naturally, that he may purchase as many as he can pay for, and that he may turn them off at his pleasure. This law is universal, without a single exception. The Jews, who purchased their wives, were privileged to divorce them, without being obliged to assign a cause (*b*). The negroes purchase their wives, and turn them off when they think proper. The same law obtains in China, in Monomotapa, in the isthmus of Darien, in Caribeana, and even in the cold country round Hudson's bay. All the savages of South America who live

(*a*) Lib. 14. cap. 9.

(*b*) Deuteronomy, chap. 24.

near the Oroonoko, purchase as many wives as they can maintain; and divorce them without ceremony.

Very different is a matrimonial engagement between equals, where a dowry is contracted with the bride. The nature of the engagement implies, that neither of them should dismiss the other, without a just cause. In Mexico, where the bride brought a dowry, there could be no divorce but by mutual consent. In Lapland, the women who have a stock of reindeer as above mentioned, make a considerable figure. This lays a foundation for a matrimonial covenant as among us, which bars polygamy, and consequently divorce without a just cause. And when these are barred in several instances, the prohibition in time becomes general.

I proceed to adultery, the criminality of which depends also in some measure on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where wives are purchased and polygamy is indulged, adultery can scarce be reckoned a crime in the husband; and where there are a plurality of wives, sound sense makes it but a venial crime in any of them. But as men are the lawgivers, the punishment

punishment of female adultery, where polygamy takes place, is generally too severe. It is however more or less severe in different countries, in proportion as the men are more or less prone to revenge. The Chinese are a mild people, and depend more on locks and bars for preventing adultery, than on severity ; the punishment being only to sell an adulteress for a slave. The same law obtains in the kingdom of Laos, bordering upon China. An adulteress among the ancient Egyptians was punished with the loss of her nose. In ancient Greece, a pecuniary penalty was inflicted on an adulterer (*a*). An adulteress was probably punished more severely. Among the negroes, who have very little delicacy, adultery is but slightly punished ; except in the kingdom of Benin. There, an adulteress, after a severe whipping, is banished ; and the adulterer forfeits his goods, which are bestow'd on the injured husband. Among the ancient Germans, a grave and virtuous people, adultery was rare. An adulteress was deprived of her hair, expelled from her husband's house, and whipped through the

(*a*) Odyssey, b. 8. l. 384.

village (*a*). In Japan, where the people are remarkably fierce, female adultery is always punished with death. In Tonquin, a woman guilty of adultery, is thrown to an elephant to be destroy'd. By the law of Moses, an adulteress is punished with death, as also the adulterer (*b*). Margaret of Burgundy, Queen to Lewis Hutin King of France, was hang'd for adultery ; and her lovers were flea'd alive. Such were the savage manners of those times. There is an old law in Wales, that for defiling the Prince's bed, the offender must pay a rod of pure gold, of the thickness of the finger of a ploughman who has ploughed nine years, and in length from the ground to the Prince's mouth when fitting.

Matrimony between a single pair, for mutual comfort, and for procreating children, implies the strictest mutual fidelity. Adultery however is a deeper crime in the wife, than in the husband : in him it may happen occasionally, with little or no alienation of affection ; but the superior modesty of the female sex is such, that a wife

(*a*) Tacitus, *De moribus Germanorum*, cap. 19.

(*b*) *Leviticus*, xx. 10.

does not yield, till unlawful love prevails, not only over modesty, but over duty to her husband. Adultery therefore in the wife, is a breach of the matrimonial engagement in a double respect: it is an alienation of affection from the husband, which unqualifies her to be his friend and companion; and it tends to bring a spurious issue into the family, betraying the husband to maintain and educate children who are not his own.

The gradual advance of the female sex to an equality with the male sex, is visible in the laws of female succession, that have been established at different times, and in different countries. It is not probable, that in any country women were early admitted to inherit land: they are too much despised among savages, for so valuable a privilege. The fierceness and brutality of the ancient Romans in particular, unqualified the women to be their companions: it never entered their thoughts, that women should inherit land, which they cannot defend by the sword. But women came to be regarded, in proportion as the national manners refined. The law prohibiting female succession in land, estab-

blished in days of rusticity, was held to be rigorous and unjust when the Romans were more polished. Proprietors of land, such of them as had no sons, were disposed to evade the law, by ample provisions to their daughters, which rendered the land of little value to the collateral heir-male. To reform that abuse, as termed by those who adhered to ancient customs, the *lex Voconia* was made, confining such provisions within moderate bounds: and this regulation continued in force, till regard for the female sex broke through every legal restraint; and established female succession in land, as formerly in moveables *. The barbarous nations who
crush'd

* Justinian, or more properly the lawyers employ'd by him upon that absurd compilation the Pandects, is guilty of a gross error, in teaching, that by the Twelve Tables males and females of the same degree succeeded equally to land. The *lex Voconia* (explain'd in *Alexandri ab Alexandro geniales dies, lib. 6. cap. 15.*) vouches the contrary. And one cannot see without pain, Justinian's error, not only adopted by an illustrious modern, but a cause assigned for it so refined and subtle as to go quite out of sight, *L'esprit de loix, liv. 27. chap. 1.* I venture to affirm, that subtle reasoning never had any influence upon a rough and illiterate people;

crush'd the Roman power, were not late in adopting the mild manners of the conquered: they admitted women to inherit land, and they exacted a double composition for injuries done to them. By the Salic law among the Franks, women were expressly prohibited to inherit land: but we learn from the forms of Marculfus, that this prohibition was in time eluded by the following solemnity. The man who wanted to put his daughter upon a footing with his sons, carried her before the commissary, saying, " My dear child, " an ancient and impious custom bars a " young woman from succeeding to her " father: but as all my children equally " are given me by God, I ought to love " them equally; therefore, my dear child, " my will is, that my effects shall divide " equally between you and your bre- " thren." In polished states, women are not excluded from succeeding even to the crown. Russia and Britain afford examples

and therefore, at the time of the Decemvirs, who composed the Twelve Tables of law, the subtle cause assigned by our author could not have been the motive, had the Decemvirs introduced female succession in land, which they certainly did not.

of women capable to govern, in an absolute as well as in a limited monarchy *.

What I have said, regards those nations only where polygamy is prohibited. I take it for granted, that women are not admitted to inherit land where polygamy is lawful: they are not in such estimation as to be intitled to a privilege so illustrious.

* The kingdom of Gurrah in Hindostan was governed by Queen Dargoutté, eminent for spirit and beauty. Small as that kingdom is, it contained about 70,000 towns and villages, the effect of long peace and prosperity. Being invaded by Asaph Can, not many years ago, the Queen, mounted on an elephant, led her troops to battle. Her son Rajah Bier Shaw, being wounded in the heat of action, was by her orders carried from the field. That accident having occasioned a general panic, the Queen was left with but 300 horsemen. Adhar, who conducted her elephant, exhorted her to retire while it could be done with safety. The heroine rejected the advice. "It is true," said she, "we are overcome in battle; but not in honour. Shall I, for a lingering ignominious life, lose a reputation that has been my chief study! Let your gratitude re-pay now the obligations you owe me: pull out your dagger, and save me from slavery, by putting an end to my life." The kingdom of Agonna in Guinea was governed by a queen when Bosman wrote.

Among the Hurons in North America, where the regal dignity is hereditary and great regard paid to the royal family, the succession is continued through females, in order to preserve the royal blood untainted. When the chief dies, his son succeeds not, but his sister's son; who certainly is of the royal blood, whoever be the father: and when the royal family is at an end, a chief is elected by the noblest matron of the tribe. The same rule of succession obtains among the Natches, a people bordering on the Mississippi; it being an article in their creed, That their royal family are children of the sun. On the same belief was founded a law in Peru, appointing the heir of the crown to marry his sister; which, equally with the law mentioned, preserved the blood of the sun in the royal family, and did not encroach so much upon the natural order of succession.

Female succession depends in some degree on the nature of the government. In Holland, all the children, male and female, succeed equally. The Hollanders live by commerce, which women are capable of as well as men. Land at the

same

same time is so scanty in that country, as to render it impracticable to raise a family by engrossing a great estate in land ; and there is nothing but the ambition of raising a family, that can move a man to prefer one of his children before the rest. The same law obtains in Hamburg, for the same reasons. Extensive estates in land support great families in Britain, a circumstance unfavourable to younger children. But probably in London, and in other great trading towns, mercantile men provide against the law, by making a more equal distribution of their effects among their children.

After traversing a great part of the globe with painful industry, would not one be apt to conclude, that originally females were every where despised, as they are at present among the savages of America ; that wives, like slaves, were procured by barter ; that polygamy was universal ; and that divorce depended on the whim of the husband ? But no sort of reasoning is more fallible, than the drawing general conclusions from particular facts. The northern nations of Europe, as appears from the foregoing sketch, must be excepted from these

these conclusions. Among them, women were from the beginning courted and honoured, nor was polygamy ever known among them.

We proceed now to a capital article in the progress of the female sex; which is, to trace the different degrees of restraint imposed upon married women in different countries, and at different times in the same country; and to assign the causes of these differences. Where luxury is unknown, and where people have no wants but what are suggested by uncorrupted nature; men and women live together with great freedom, and with great innocence. In Greece anciently, even young women of rank ministered to men in bathing.

“ While these officious tend the rites divine,
“ The last fair branch of the Nestorian line,
“ Sweet Polycasté, took the pleasant toil
“ To bathe the Prince, and pour the fragrant oil (a).

Men and women among the Spartans, bathed promiscuously, and wrestled together stark naked. Tacitus reports, that the Germans had not even separate beds, but lay promiscuously upon reeds or heath a-

(a) Odyssey, book 3. See also book 8. line 491.

long the walls of the house. The same custom prevails even at present among the temperate Highlanders of Scotland; and is not quite worn out in New England. A married woman is under no confinement, because no man thinks of an act so irregular as to attempt her chastity. In the Caribbee islands adultery was unknown, till European Christians made settlements there. At the same time, there scarce can be any fewel for jealousy, where men purchase their wives, put them away at pleasure, and even lend them to a friend. But when by ripening sensibility a man feels pleasure in his wife's attachment to him, jealousy commences; jealousy of a rival in her affections. Jealousy accordingly is a symptom of increasing esteem for the female sex; and that passion is visibly creeping in among the natives of Virginia. It begins to have a real foundation, when inequality of rank and of riches takes place. Men of opulence study pleasure: married women become objects of a corrupted taste; and often fall a sacrifice, where morals are imperfect, and the climate an incentive to animal love. Greece is a delicious country, the people handsome; and when the ancient

ancient Greeks made the greatest figure, they were miserably defective in morals. They became jealous of rivals; which prompted them, according to the rough manners of those times, to exclude women from society with men. Their women accordingly were never seen in public; and if my memory serve me, an accidental interview of a man and a woman on the public street, brings on the catastrophe in a Greek tragedy. In *Hecuba*, a tragedy of Euripides, the Queen excuses herself for declining to visit Polymestor, saying, “that it is indecent for a woman to look “a man in the face.” In the *Electra* of Sophocles, Antigoné is permitted by her mother Jocasta to take a view of the Argian army from a high tower: an old man who accompanies her, being alarmed at seeing some females pass that way and afraid of censure, prays Antigoné to retire; “for,” says he, “women are prone “to detraction; and to them the merest “trifle is a fruitful subject of conversa-“tion *.” Spain is a country that scarce yields

* Women are not prone to detraction, unless when denied the comforts of society. The censure

yields to Greece in fineness of climate; and the morals of its people in the dark ages of Christianity, were not more pure than those of Greece. By a law of the Visigoths in Spain, a surgeon was prohibited to take blood from a free woman, except in presence of her husband or nearest relations. By the Salic law (*a*), he who squeezes the hand of a free woman, shall pay a fine of 15 golden shillings. In the fourteenth century, it was a rule in France, that no married woman ought to admit a man to visit her in absence of her husband. Female chastity must at that time have been extremely feeble, when so little trust was reposed in the fair sex.

To treat women in that manner, may possibly be necessary, where they are in request for no end but to gratify animal love. But where they are intended for the more elevated purposes, of being friends and companions, as well as affec-

of Sophocles is probably just with respect to his countrywomen, because they were lock'd up. Old maids have the character with us of being prone to detraction; but that holds not unless they retire from society.

(*a*) Tit. 22.

tionate mothers, a very different treatment is proper. Locks and spies will never answer; for these tend to debase their minds, to corrupt their morals, and to render them contemptible. By gradual openings in the more delicate senses, particularly in all the branches of the moral sense, chastity, one of these branches, acquires a commanding influence over females; and becomes their ruling principle. In that refined state, women are trusted with their own conduct, and may safely be trusted: they make delicious companions, and uncorruptible friends; and that such at present is generally their case in Britain, I am bold to affirm. Anne of Britanny, wife to Charles VIII. and to Lewis XII. Kings of France, introduced the fashion of ladies appearing publicly at court. This fashion was introduced much later in England: even down to the Revolution, women of rank never appeared in the streets without a mask. In Scotland, the veil, or plaid, continued long in fashion, with which every woman of rank was covered when she went abroad. That fashion has not been laid aside above forty years. In Italy,

taly, women were much longer confined than in France; and in Spain the indulging them with some liberty is but creeping into fashion. In Abyssinia polygamy is prohibited; and married women of fashion have by custom obtained the privilege of visiting their friends, tho' not much with the good-will of many husbands.

It were to be wished, that a veil could be drawn over the following part of their history. The growth of luxury and sensuality, undermining every moral principle, renders both sexes equally dissolute: wives in that case deserve to be again lock'd up; but the time of such severity is past. In that case indeed, it becomes indecent for the two sexes to bathe promiscuously. Men in Rome, copying the Greeks, plunged together into the same bath; and in time men and women did the same (*a*). Hadrian prohibited that indecent custom. Marcus Antoninus renewed the prohibition; and Alexander Severus, a second time: but to so little purpose, that even the primitive Christians

(*a*) Plutarch, Life of Cato.

made no difficulty to follow the custom : such appetite there is for being *nudus cum nuda*, when justified by fashion. This custom withstood even the thunder of general councils ; and was not dropt, till people became more decent.

In days of innocence, when chastity is the ruling passion of the female sex, we find great frankness in external behaviour ; for women above suspicion, are little solicitous about appearances. At the same period, and for the same reason, we find great looseness in writing ; witness the Queen of Navarre's tales. In the capital of France at present, chastity, far from being practised, is scarce admitted to be a female virtue. But people who take much freedom in private, are extremely circumspect in public : no indecent expression nor insinuation is admitted, even into their plays or other writings. In England the women are less corrupted than in France ; and for that reason are not so scrupulous with respect to decency in writing.

Hitherto of the female sex in temperate climates, where polygamy is prohibited. Very different is their condition in hot climates,

climes, which inflame animal love in both sexes equally. In the hot regions of Asia, where polygamy is indulged, and wives are purchased for gratifying the carnal appetite merely, it is vain to think of restraining them otherwise than by locks and bars, after having once tasted enjoyment. Where polygamy is indulged, the body is the only object of jealousy; not the mind, as there can be no mutual affection between a man and his instruments of sensual pleasure. And if women be so little virtuous as not to be safely trusted with their own conduct, they ought to be lock'd up; for there is no just medium between absolute confinement and absolute freedom. The Chinese are so jealous of their wives, as even to lock them up from their relations; and so great is their diffidence of the female sex in general, that brothers and sisters are not permitted to converse together. When women go abroad, they are shut up in a close sedan, into which no eye can penetrate. The intrigues carried on by the wives of the Chinese Emperor, and the jealousy that reigns among them, render them unhappy. But luckily, as women are little regarded where

where polygamy is indulged, their ambition and intrigues give less disturbance to the government, than in the courts of European princes. The ladies of Hindostan cover their heads with a gauze veil, even at home, which they lay not aside except in company of their nearest relations. A Hindoo buys his wife; and the first time he is permitted to see her without a veil, is after marriage in his own house. In several hot countries, women are put under the guard of eunuchs, as an additional security; and black eunuchs are commonly preferred for their ugliness. But as a woman, deprived of the society of men, is apt to be inflamed even with the appearance of a man; some jealous nations, refining upon that circumstance, employ old maids, termed *duennas*, for guarding their women. In the city of Moka, in Arabia Felix, women of fashion never appear on the street in day-light; but it is a proof of manners refined above those in neighbouring countries, that they are permitted to visit one another in the evening. If they find men in their way, they draw aside to let them pass. A French surgeon being called by one of the King of Yemen's

man's chief officers, to cure a rheumatism which had seized two of his wives, was permitted to handle the parts affected; but he could not get a sight of their faces.

I proceed to examine more minutely the manners of women, as resulting from the degree of restraint they are under in different countries. In the warm regions of Asia, where polygamy is indulged, the education of young women is extremely loose, being intended solely for animal pleasure. They are accomplished in such graces and allurements as tend to inflame the sensual appetite: they are taught vocal and instrumental music, with various dances that cannot stand the test of decency: but no culture is bestowed on the mind, no moral instruction, no improvement of the rational faculties; because such education, which qualifies them for being virtuous companions to men of sense, would inspire them with abhorrence at the being made prostitutes. In a word, so corrupted are they by vicious education, as to be unfit objects of any desire but what is merely sensual. Asiatic wives are not trusted even with the management of household affairs, which would afford opportunities

opportunities for infidelity. In Persia, says Chardin, the ladies are not permitted, more than children, to chuse a gown for themselves: no lady knows in the morning what she is to wear that day. The education of young women in Hindostan, is less indecent. They are not taught music nor dancing, which are reckoned fit only for ladies of pleasure: they are taught all the graces of external behaviour, particularly to converse with spirit and elegance: they are taught also to sew, to embroider, and to dress with taste. Writing is neglected; but they are taught to read, that they may have the consolation of studying the Alcoran; which they never open, nor could understand if they did. Notwithstanding such care in educating Hindostan females, their confinement in a seraglio renders their manners extremely loose: the most refined luxury of sense, with idleness or with reading love-tales still worse than idleness, cannot fail to vitiate the minds of persons deprived of liberty, and to prepare them for every sort of intemperance. The wives and concubines of grandees in Constantinople, are permitted sometimes to walk

abroad for air and exercise. A foreigner stumbling accidentally on a knot of them, about forty in number, attended with black eunuchs, was in the twinkling of an eye seized by a brisk girl, with the rest at her heels : she accosted him with loose amorous expressions, attempting at the same time to expose his nakedness. Neither threats nor intreaties availed him against such vigorous assailants ; nor could the vehemence of their curiosity be moderated, by representing the shame of a behaviour so grossly immodest. An old Janizary, standing at a little distance, was amazed : his Mahometan bashfulness would not suffer him to lay hands upon women ; but with a Stentorian voice he roared to the black eunuchs, that they were guardians of prostitutes, not of modest women ; urging them to free the man from such harpies.—All in vain (*a*).

Very different are female manners in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited, and women are treated as rational beings. These manners however depend

(*a*) Observations on the religion, laws, &c. of the Turks.

in some measure on the nature of the government. As many hands are at once employ'd in the different branches of republican government, and a still greater number by rotation ; the males, who have little time to spare from public busines, feel nothing of that languor and weariness which to the idle make the most frivolous amusements welcome. Married women live retired at home, managing family-affairs, as their husbands do those of the state : whence it is, that simplicity of manners is more the tone of a republic, than of any other government. Such were the manners of the female sex during the flourishing periods of the Greek and Roman commonwealths ; and such are their manners in Switzerland and in Holland.

There will be occasion afterward, to display an important revolution in manners, resulting from chivalry (*a*). One branch of it must be handled at present, that which concerns the intercourse between the sexes. The Crusades were what first gave a turn to the fierce manners of our ancestors. The combatants, fighting more for glory than for revenge or interest, be-

(*a*) Book 2. sketch 6,

came eminent for magnanimity and heroism. After so active a life abroad, they could not bear idleness at home, especially when there was such demand for their prowess. Europe had never been worse governed than at that period: dissension and discord were universal; and every chieftain bore deadly feud against his neighbours. Revenge was the ruling passion, which was licentiously indulged, without the least regard to justice. The heroes who had signaliz'd themselves abroad, endeavoured to acquire fame at home: they entered into bonds of chivalry, for redressing wrongs and protecting widows and orphans. An object so noble and humane, tempered courage with mildness, and magnanimity with courtesy. The protection given to widows and orphans improved benevolence; and female beauty, which makes the deepest impression on the benevolent, came to be the capital object of protection. Each knight took under his peculiar care, the beauty that inflamed him the most; and each knight was disposed to elevate the goddess of his heart above all rival beauties. In his heated imagination, she was perfection

without frailty, a paragon of nature. Emulation for the fame of a beloved object, has no bounds, because there is nothing selfish in it: she is exalted into a sort of divinity: the lover descends to be a humble votary. And mark, that devotion to a visible deity, always flames the highest. This connection, which reverses the order of nature by elevating women far above men, produced an artificial sort of gallantry, that was carried to extravagance: the language of devotion became that of love, and all was bombast and unnatural. Chastity however was a gainer by this mode of love: it became necessarily the ruling principle, to be preserved in purity without spot or blemish; possession dissolves the charm; for after surrendering all to a lover, a female cannot hope to maintain her angelic character a moment. Duke John de Bourbonnois, anno 1414, caused it to be proclaimed, that he intended an expedition to England with sixteen knights, in order to combat the like number of English knights, for glorifying the beautiful angel he worshipped. Instances of this kind without number, stand upon record. René, styled *King of Sicily*

Sicily and Jerusalem, observes in writing upon tournaments, that they are highly useful in furnishing opportunities to young knights and esquires to display their prowess before their mistresses. He adds, "that every ceremony regarding tournaments, is contrived to honour the ladies. It belongs to them to inspect the arms of the combatants, and to distribute the rewards. A knight or esquire who defames any of them, is beat and bruised till the injured lady condescend to intercede for him." Remove a female out of her proper sphere, and it is easy to convert her into a male. James IV. of Scotland, in all tournaments, professed himself knight to Anne Queen of France. She summoned him to prove himself her true and valorous champion, by taking the field in her defence against Henry VIII. of England. And according to the romantic gallantry of that age, the Queen's summons was thought to have been James's chief motive for declaring war against his brother-in-law. The famous Gaston de Foix, general of the French at the battle of Ravenna, rode from rank to rank, calling by name several officers and even private men,

men, recommending to them their country and their honour ; adding, “ that he “ would see what they would perform for “ love of their mistresses.” During the civil wars in France, when love and gallantry were carried to a high pitch, Monsieur de Chatillon, ready to engage in a battle, tied round his arm a garter of Mademoiselle de Guerchi his mistress. De Liques and d’Etree’s were both suitors to Mademoiselle de Fouquerolles for marriage. De Liques prevailed, and the marriage day was fixed. But that very day, he was taken prisoner by his rival in a battle anno 1525. The lady wrote a letter to d’Etree demanding her husband ; and d’Etree instantly sent him to her without even demanding a ransom *.

In peaceable times, the sovereign power having acquired more authority, the ne-

* We are indebted to Brantom for what follows. In the time of Francis I. of France, a young woman having a talkative lover, ordered him to be dumb. His obedience for two long years, made all the world believe that he was sunk in melancholy. One day in a numerous assembly, the young woman, who was not known to be his mistress, undertook to cure him ; and did it with a single word, *Speak.*

cessity of private protection ceased. But the accustomed spirit of gallantry did not cease. It could not however subsist for ever against nature and common sense: it subsided by degrees into mutual affability and politeness, such as ought always to obtain between the sexes. But observe, that after a most intimate connection, matters could not fall back to the former decency and reserve. The intimate connection remained; and a more substantial gallantry took place, not always innocent. This change of manners was first visible in monarchy. Monarchy employs but a few hands; and those who are not occupied in public affairs, find leisure for gallantry and for desires that are easily gratified. Women of rank, on the other hand, laid open to corruption by opulence and superficial education, are more ambitious to captivate the eye than the judgement; and are fonder of lovers than of friends. Where a man and a woman thus prepared meet together, they soon grow particular: the man is idle, the woman frank; and both equally addicted to pleasure. Unlawful commerce between the sexes becoming thus common, high gallantry vanishes of course;

course: the bombast style appears ridiculous, and the sensual appetite is gratified with very little ceremony. Nothing of love remains but the name; and as animal enjoyment without love is a very low pleasure, it soon sinks into disgust when confined to one object. What is not found in one, is fondly expected in another; and the imagination, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety. An attachment to a woman of virtue or of talents, appears absurd: true love is laughed out of countenance; and men degenerate into brutes. Women, on the other hand, regarding nothing but sensual enjoyment, become so careless of their infants, as even, without blushing, to employ mercenary nurses *. In Persia,

it

* Les femmes d'un certain état en France trouvent qu'elles perdent trop à faire des enfans, et à cause de cela même, la plûpart vivent célibataires, dans le sein même du mariage. Mais si l'envie de se voir perpetuer dans une branche de descendants, les porte à se conformer aux vœux de l'hymen, la population, dans cette classe, n'en est pas plus avancée, pars que leur delicateſſe rend inutile leur propagation; car, parmi les femmes du premier et second rang en France, combien y en a-t-il qui nourifſent leurs enfans? Il feroit facile de les compter.

Ce

it is a common practice among women of fashion to use drugs that cause abortion; because after pregnancy is advanced, the husband attaches himself to other women, it being held indecent to touch a woman who is pregnant. Such a course of life cannot fail to sink them into contempt: marriages are dissolved as soon as contracted; and the state is frustrated of that improvement in morals and manners, which is the never-failing product of virtuous love. A state enriched by conquest or

Ce devoir indispensable de mere, a cessé chez nous d'en être un. *Les Interests de la France*, vol. I. p. 234.—[In English thus: “The women of a certain rank in France find that they lose too much “by child-bearing; and for that reason, even tho’ “married, live in a state of celibacy. But popula-“tion is not advanced, even by those who, from a “desire of seeing themselves perpetuated in their “descendents, conform to the purpose of marriage; “for their delicacy counterbalances their fertility. “How few of the first and second rank of women “in France suckle their children? It would be easy “to count the number. This indispensable duty of “a mother has now ceased to be one with us.”]— As such woful neglect of education is the fruit of voluptuousness, we may take it for granted, that the same obtains in every opulent and luxurious capital.

commerce, declines gradually into luxury and sensual pleasure: manners are corrupted, decency banished, and chastity becomes a mere name. What a scene of rank and dissolute pleasure is exhibited in the courts of Alexander's successors, and in those of the Roman emperors !

Gratitude to my female readers, if I shall be honoured with any, prompts me to conclude this sketch with a scene, that may afford them instruction, and cannot fail of being agreeable; which is, the figure a woman is fitted for making in the matrimonial state, where polygamy is excluded. Matrimony among savages, having no object but propagation and slavery, is a very humbling state for the female sex: but delicate organization, great sensibility, lively imagination, with sweet-ness of temper above all, qualify women for a more dignified society with men; which is, to be their companions and bosom-friends. In the common course of European education, young women are trained to make an agreeable figure, and to behave with decency and propriety: very little culture is bestow'd on the head; and still less on the heart, if it be not the

art of hiding passion. Such education is far from seconding the purpose of nature, that of making women fit companions for men of sense. Due cultivation of the female mind would add greatly to the happiness of the males, and still more to that of the females. Time runs on; and when youth and beauty vanish, a fine lady, who never entertained a thought into which an admirer did not enter, surrenders herself now to discontent and peevishness. A woman on the contrary, who has merit, improved by virtuous and refined education, retains in her decline an influence over the men, more flattering than even that of beauty: she is the delight of her friends, as formerly of her admirers.

Admirable would be the effects of such refined education, contributing no less to public good than to private happiness. A man, who at present must degrade himself into a fop or a coxcomb in order to please the women, would soon discover, that their favour is not to be gained but by exerting every manly talent in public and in private life; and the two sexes, instead of corrupting each other, would be rivals in the race of virtue. Mutual e-

steem would be to each a school of urbanity ; and mutual desire of pleasing, would give smoothness to their behaviour, delicacy to their sentiments, and tenderness to their passions.

Married women in particular, destin'd by nature to take the lead in educating children, would no longer be the greatest obstruction to good education, by their ignorance, frivolity, and disorderly manners. Even upon the breast, infants are susceptible of impressions * ; and the mother hath opportunities without end of instilling into them good principles, before they are fit for a male tutor. Coriolanus, who made a capital figure in the

* May not a habit of cheerfulness be produced in an infant, by being trained up among cheerful people ? An agreeable temper is held to be a prime qualification in a nurse. Such is the connection between the mind and body, as that the features of the face are commonly moulded into an expression of the internal disposition ; and is it not natural to think, that an infant in the womb may be affected by the temper of its mother ? Its tender parts makes it susceptible of the slightest impressions. When a woman is breeding, she ought to be doubly careful of her temper ; and in particular to indulge no ideas but what are cheerful, and no sentiments but what are kindly.

Roman republic, never returned from war without meriting marks of distinction. Others behaved valiantly, in order to acquire glory : he behaved valiantly, in order to give pleasure to his mother. The delight she took in hearing him praised, and her weeping for joy in his embraces, made him in his own opinion the happiest person in the universe. Epaminondas accounted it his greatest felicity, that his father and mother were still alive to behold his conduct, and enjoy his victory at Leuctra. In a Latin dialogue about the causes that corrupted the Roman eloquence, injudiciously ascribed to Tacitus, because obviously it is not his style, the method of education in Rome while it flourished as a commonwealth, is described in a lively manner. I shall endeavour to give the sense in English, because it chiefly concerns the fair sex.

“ In that
“ age, children were suckled, not in the
“ hut of a mercenary nurse, but by the
“ chaste mother who bore them. Their
“ education during nonage was in her
“ hands ; and it was her chief care to in-
“ stil into them every virtuous principle.
“ In her presence, a loose word or an im-
“ proper

" proper action, were strictly prohibited.
" She superintended, not only their se-
" rious studies, but even their amuse-
" ments; which were conducted with de-
" cency and moderation. In that man-
" ner the Gracchi, educated by Cornelia
" their mother, and Augustus, by Attia
" his mother, appeared in public with
" untainted minds; fond of glory, and
" prepared to make a figure in the world."

In the expedition of the illustrious Bertrand du Gueselin against Peter the Cruel, King of Castile, the governor of a town, summoned to give it up, made the following answer, " That they might be
" conquered, but would never tamely
" yield; that their fathers had taught
" them to prefer a glorious death before
" a dishonourable life; and that their
" mothers had not only educated them in
" these sentiments, but were ready to put
" in practice the lessons they had inculca-
" ted." During the civil wars in France
between the Catholics and Protestants,
Bari, governor of Leucate, having fallen
by surprise into the hands of the Catho-
lics, wrote from prison to his spouse Con-
stance Cezelli not to surrender even tho'
they

they should threaten to put him to death. The besiegers brought him within her sight; and threatened to massacre him if she did not instantly open the gates. She offered for his ransom her children and all she had in the world—but that the town belonged to the King, and was not at her disposal. Would one think it possible, that any man ever did exist so brutal as to put her husband to death? Yet this was done in cold blood. Let the most profound politician say, what more efficacious incentive there can be to virtue and manhood, than the behaviour of the Spartan matrons, flocking to the temples, and thanking the gods that their husbands and sons had died gloriously, fighting for their country. In the war between Lacedemon and Thebes, the Lacedemonians having behaved ill, the married men, as Plutarch reports, were so ashamed of themselves, that they durst not look their wives in the face. What a glorious prize is here exhibited, to be contended for by the female sex!

By such refin'd education, love would take on a new form, that which nature inspires, for making us happy, and for softening

softening the distresses of chance: it would fill deliciously the whole soul with tender amity, and mutual confidence. The union of a worthy man with a frivolous woman, can never, with all the advantages of fortune, be made comfortable: how different the union of a virtuous pair, who have no aim but to make each other happy! Between such a pair emulation is reversed, by an ardent desire in each to be surpassed by the other.

Rousseau, in his treatise of Education, affirms, that convents are no better than schools of coquetry; and that among Protestants, women make better wives and more tender mothers than among Roman Catholics; for which, says he, no reason can be given but convent-education, which is universal among the latter. He then goes on in the following words. “ Pour aimer la vie paisible et “ domestique il faut la connaître; il faut “ en avoir senti les douceurs dès l'enfance. “ Ce n'est que dans la maison paternelle “ qu'on prend du goût pour sa propre “ maison, et toute femme que sa mère “ n'a point élevée n'aimera point élever “ ses enfans. Malheureusement il n'y a plus

“ plus d'éducation privée dans les grandes
“ villes. La société y est si générale et si
“ mêlée qu'il ne reste plus d'asile pour la
“ retraite, et qu'on est en public jusques
“ chez soi. A force de vivre avec tout le
“ monde en n'a plus de famille, à peine
“ connoît-on ses parens ; on les voit en
“ étrangers, et la simplicité des mœurs
“ domestiques s'eteint avec la douce fa-
“ miliarité qui en faisoit le charme. C'est
“ ainsi qu'on suce avec le lait le goût des
“ plaisirs du siecle et des maximes qu'on
“ y voit regner.” *Rousseau, Emile.*

Cultivation of the female mind, is not of great importance in a republic, where men pass little of their time with women. Such cultivation where polygamy is indulged, would to them be a deep misfortune, by opening their eyes to their miserable condition. But in an opulent monarchy where polygamy is prohibited, female education is of high importance ; not singly with respect to private happiness, but with respect to the society in general.

A P P E N D I X.

Concerning Propagation of Animals, and Care of Progeny.

THE natural history of animals with respect to pairing and care of progeny, is susceptible of more elucidation than could regularly be introduced into the sketch itself, where it makes but a single argument. Loth to quit a subject that eminently displays the wisdom and benevolence of Providence, I embrace the present opportunity, however slight, to add what further occurs upon it. M. Buffon, in many large volumes, bestows scarce a thought on that favourite subject; and the neglect of our countrymen Ray and Derham is still less excusable, considering that to display the conduct of Providence was their sole purpose in writing natural history.

The instinct of pairing is bestow'd on every species of animals to which it is necessary for rearing their young; and on

no other species. All wild birds pair; but with a remarkable difference between such as place their nests on trees, and such as place them on the ground. The young of the former, being hatched blind and without feathers, require the nursing care of both parents till they be able to fly. The male feeds his mate on the nest, and cheers her with a song. As soon as the young are hatched, singing yields to a more necessary occupation, that of providing food for a numerous issue, a task that requires both parents.

Eagles and other birds of prey build on trees, or on other places difficult of access. They not only pair, but continue in pairs all the year; and the same pair procreate together, year after year. This at least is the case of eagles: the male and female hunt together; and during incubation the female is fed by the male. A greater number than a single pair never are seen in company.

Gregarious birds pair, in order probably to prevent discord, in a society confined to a narrow space. This is the case particularly of pigeons and rooks. The male and female sit on the eggs alternately,

ly, and divide the care of feeding their young.

Partridges, plovers, pheasants, peafowl, grouse, and other kinds that place their nests on the ground, have the instinct of pairing ; but differ from such as build on trees in the following particular, that after the female is impregnated, she completes her task without needing any help from the male. Retiring from him, she chuses a safe place for her nest, where she can find plenty of worms and grass-seed at hand. And her young, as soon as hatched, take foot and seek food for themselves. The only remaining duty incumbent on the dam is, to lead them to proper places for food, and to call them together when danger impends. Some males, provoked at the desertion of their mates, break the eggs if they happen to find them. If a Turkey hen die during hatching, the cock takes her place in the nest ; and after the young are hatched, he tends them as a hen does. Not only so, but when the female is engaged with a new brood, the cock takes care of the former brood, leads them about for food, and acts in every respect as the female did before.

fore. Eider ducks pair like other birds that place their nests on the ground ; and the female finishes her nest with down plucked from her own breast. If the nest be destroyed for the down, which is remarkably warm and elastic, she makes another nest as before. If she be robb'd a second time, she makes a third nest ; but the male furnishes the down. A lady of spirit observed, that the Eider duck may give a lesson to many a married woman, who is more disposed to pluck her husband than herself. The black game never pair : in spring the cock on an eminence crows, and claps his wings ; and all the females within hearing instantly resort to him *.

Pairing birds, excepting those of prey, flock together in February, in order to chuse their mates. They soon disperse ; and are not seen afterward but in pairs.

Pairing is unknown to quadrupeds that feed on grass. To such it would be use-

* A hen that had hatched several broods of ducklings, carried her own chickens to the water, thrust them in by force, and rested not till they were all drowned. Such is the force of custom, even against nature.

less; as the female gives suck to her young while she herself is feeding. If M. Buffon deserve credit, the roe-deer are an exception. They pair, tho' they feed on grass, and have but one litter in a year.

Beasts of prey, such as lions, tigers, wolves, pair not. The female is left to shift for herself and for her young; which is a laborious task, and frequently so unsuccessful as to shorten life. Pairing is essential to birds of prey, because incubation leaves the female no sufficient time to search for food. Pairing is not necessary to beasts of prey, because their young can bear a long fast. Add another reason, that they would multiply so fast by pairing, as to prove troublesome neighbours to the human race.

Among animals that pair not, males fight desperately about a female. Such a battle among horned cattle is finely described by Lucretius. Nor is it unusual, that seven or eight lions wage bloody war for a single female.

The same reason that makes pairing necessary for gregarious birds, obtains with respect to gregarious quadrupeds; those especially who store up food for winter, and

and during that season live in common. Discord among such, would be attended with worse consequences than even among lions or bulls, who are not confined to one place. The beavers, with respect to pairing, resemble birds that place their nests on the ground. As soon as the young are produced, the males abandon their stock of food to their mates, and live at large; but return frequently to visit them, while they are suckling their young.

Hedge-hogs pair, and several of the monkey-kind. We are not well acquainted with the natural history of these animals; but it may be presumed that the young require the nursing care of both parents.

Seals have a singular economy. Polygamy seems to be a law of nature among them, as a male associates with several females. The sea-turtle has no occasion to pair, as the female concludes her task with laying her eggs in the sand. The young are hatched by the sun; and immediately crawl to the sea.

In every other branch of animal economy concerning the continuance of the species, the hand of Providence is equally conspicuous,

conspicuous. The young of pairing birds are produced in the spring, when the weather begins to be comfortable; and their early production makes them firm and vigorous before winter, to endure the hardships of that rigorous season. Such early production is in particular favourable to eagles, and other birds of prey; for in the spring they have plenty of food, by the return of birds of passage.

Tho' the time of gestation varies considerably in the different quadrupeds that feed on grass, yet the female is regularly delivered early in summer, when grass is in plenty. The mare admits the stallion in summer, carries eleven months, and is delivered the beginning of May. The cow differs little. A sheep and a goat take the male in November, carry five months, and produce when grass begins to spring. These animals love short grass, upon which a mare or a cow would starve. The observation holds in climates so temperate as to encourage grass in the spring, and to preserve it in verdure all the summer. I am informed that in Italy, sheep copulate from June to July: the female goes twenty weeks, and is delivered in November.

or December, precisely at the time when grass there is in the greatest plenty. In April the grass is burnt up; and sheep have nothing but shrubs to browse on. This appears to me a signal instance of providential care *. The rutting-season of the red deer is the end of September, and beginning of October: it continues for three weeks; during which time, the male runs from female to female without intermission. The female brings forth in May, or beginning of June; and the female of the fallow-deer brings forth at the same time. The she-ass takes the male the beginning of summer; but she bears twelve months, which fixes her delivery to summer. Wolves and foxes copulate in December: the female carries five months, and brings forth in April, when animal food is as plentiful as at any other season; and the she-lion brings forth about the same time. Of this early birth there is

* I have it upon good authority, that ewes pasturing in a hilly country chuse early some snug spot, where they may drop their young with safety. And hence the risk of removing a flock to a new field immediately before delivery: many lambs perish by being dropped in improper places.

one evident advantage, hinted above : the young have time to grow so firm as easily to bear the inclemencies of winter.

Were one to guess what probably would be the time of rutting, summer would be named, especially in a cold climate. And yet to quadrupeds who carry but four or five months, that economy would throw the time of delivery to an improper season, for warmth, as well as for food. Wisely is it ordered, that the delivery should constantly be at the best season for both.

Gregarious quadrupeds that store up food for winter, differ from all other quadrupeds with respect to the time of delivery. Beavers copulate about the end of autumn, and bring forth in January, when their granary is full. The same economy probably obtains among all other quadrupeds of the same kind.

One rule takes place among all brute animals, without a single exception, That the female never is burdened with two litters at the same time. The time of gestation is so unerringly calculated by nature, that the young brood can provide for themselves before another brood comes on. Even a hare is not an exception, tho' many

litters

litters are produced in a year. The female carries thirty or thirty-one days; but she suckles her young only twenty days, after which they provide for themselves, and leave her free to a new litter.

The care of animals to preserve their young from harm is a beautiful instance of Providence. When a hind hears the hounds, she puts herself in the way of being hunted, and leads them from her fawn. The lapwing is no less ingenious: if a person approach, she flies about, retiring always from her nest. A partridge is extremely artful: she hops away, hanging a wing as if broken: lingers till the person approach, and hops again*. A hen, timid by nature, is bold as a lion in defence of her young: she darts upon every creature that threatens danger. The roe-buck defends its young with resolution

* The following incident hardly deserves to be mentioned it is so common, but that the tear is scarce dry which the sight wrung from me. A man mowing a field for hay, passed over a partridge sitting on her nest. Turning about to cut down a tuft that had been left, he unhappily brought up the partridge on the point of his scythe. Such affection there is even for a brood, not yet brought to light.

and courage. So doth a ram ; and so do many other quadrupeds.

It is observed by an ingenious writer (*a*), that nature sports in the colour of domestic animals, in order that men may the more readily distinguish their own. It is not easy to say, why colour is more varied in such animals, than in those which remain in the state of nature : I can only say, that the cause assigned is not satisfactory. One is seldom at a loss to distinguish one animal from another ; and Providence never interposes to vary the ordinary course of nature, for an end so little necessary as to make the distinction still more obvious. I add, that it does not appear in any instance the intention of Providence, to encourage inattention and indolence.

The foregoing particulars are offered to the public as hints merely : may it not be hoped, that they will excite curiosity in those who relish natural history ? The field is rich, tho' little cultivated ; and I know no other branch of natural history that opens finer views into the conduct of Providence.

(*a*) Pennant.

S K E T C H VII.

Progress and Effects of Luxury.

THE wisdom of Providence is in no instance more conspicuous than in adjusting the constitution of man to his external circumstances. Food is extremely precarious in the hunter-state ; sometimes superabounding with little fatigue, sometimes failing after great fatigue. A savage, like other animals of prey, has a stomach adjusted to that variety : he can bear a long fast ; and gorges voraciously when he has plenty, without being the worse for it. Whence it is, that barbarians, who have scarce any sense of decency, are great and gross feeders *. The

* In the Iliad of Homer, book 9. Agamemnon calls a council at night in his tent. Before entering on business, they go to supper, (*line 122*). An embassy to Achilles is resolved on. The ambassadors again sup with Achilles on pork-griskins, (*line 271*). Achilles rejects Agamemnon's offer ; and the same night Ulysses and Diomed set out on their expedition to the Trojan camp : returning before day, they had a third supper.

Kamtsatkans love fat ; and a man entertains his guests by cramming into their mouths fat slices of a seal, or a whale, cutting off with his knife what hangs out. Barbarians are equally addicted to drunkenness ; and peculiarly fond of spirituous liquors. Drinking was a fashionable vice in Greece, when Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, wrote, if we can rely on the translations or imitations of their plays by Plautus and Terence. Cyrus preparing to attack his brother Artaxerxes, King of Persia, published a manifesto, that he was more worthy of the throne than his brother, because he could swallow more wine. Diodorus Siculus reports, that in his time the Gauls, like other barbarians, were much addicted to drinking. The ancient Scandinavians, who, like other savages, were intemperate in eating and drinking, swallowed large cups to their gods, and to such of their countrymen as had fallen bravely in battle. We learn from the 25th fable of the Edda, which was their sacred book, that to hold much liquor was reputed a heroic virtue. Contarini the Venetian ambassador, who wrote ann. 1473, says, that the Russians were abandoned to drunkenness ;

drunkenness ; and that the whole race would have been extirpated, had not strong liquors been discharged by the sovereign.

A habit of fasting long, acquired as above in the hunter-state, made meals in the shepherd-state less frequent than at present, tho' food was at hand. Anciently people fed but once a-day, a fashion that continued even after luxury was indulged in other respects. In the war of Xerxes against Greece, it was pleasantly said of the Abderites, who were burdened with providing for the King's table, that they ought to thank the gods for not inclining Xerxes to eat twice a-day. Plato held the Sicilians to be gluttons, for having two meals every day. Arrian (*a*) observes, that the Tyrrhenians had the same bad habit. In the reign of Henry VI. the people of England fed but twice a-day. Hector Boyes, in his history of Scotland, exclaiming against the growing luxury of his cotemporaries, says, that some persons were so gluttonous, as to have three meals every day.

Luxury, undoubtedly, and love of so-

(*a*) Lib. 4. cap. 16.

society,

ciety, tended to increase the number of meals beyond what nature requires. On the other hand, there is a cause that kept down the number for some time, which is, the introduction of machines. Bodily strength is essential to a savage, being his only instrument ; and with it he performs wonders. Machines have rendered bodily strength of little importance ; and as men labour less than originally, they eat less in proportion *. Listen to Hollinshed the English historian upon that article : “ Heretofore, there hath been much more time spent in eating and drinking, than commonly is in these days ; for whereas of old we had breakfasts in the forenoon, beverages or nuntings after dinner, and thereto rear suppers when it was time to go to rest ; now these odd repasts, thanked be God, are very well left, and each one contenteth himself with dinner and supper only.” Thus before cookery and luxury crept in, a mo-

* Before fire-arms were known, people gloried in address and bodily strength, and commonly fought hand to hand. But violent exercises, becoming less and less necessary, went insensibly out of fashion.

derate stomach, occasioned by the abridging bodily labour, made eating less frequent than formerly. But the motion did not long continue retrograde : good cookery, and the pleasure of eating in company, turned the tide ; and people now eat less at a time, but more frequently.

Feasts in former times were carried beyond all bounds. William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the days of Henry II. says, “ That the English were universally addicted to drunkenness, continuing over their cups day and night, keeping open house, and spending the income of their estates in riotous feasts, where eating and drinking were carried to excess, without any elegance.” People who live in a corner, imagine that every thing is peculiar to themselves : what Malmesbury says of the English, is common to all nations, in advancing from the selfishness of savages to a relish for society, but who have not yet learned to bridle their appetites. Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the Monks of Saint Swithin, says, that they threw themselves prostrate at the feet of King Henry II, and with many tears complained, that the Bishop, who

was their abbot, had withdrawn from them three of their usual number of dishes. Henry, having made them acknowledge that there still remained ten dishes, said, that he himself was contented with three, and recommended to the Bishop to reduce them to that number. Leland (*a*) mentions a feast given by the Archbishop of York, at his installation, in the reign of Edward IV. The following is a specimen : 300 quarters of wheat, 300 tons of ale, 100 tons of wine, 1000 sheep, 104 oxen, 304 calves, 304 swine, 2000 geese, 1000 capons, 2000 pigs, 400 swans, 104 peacocks, 1500 hot venison pasties, 4000 cold, 5000 custards hot and cold. Such entertainments are a picture of manners. At that early period, there was not discovered in society any pleasure but that of crowding together in hunting and feasting. The delicate pleasures of conversation, in communicating opinions, sentiments, and desires, were to them unknown. There appeared however, even at that early period, a faint dawn of the fine arts. In such feasts as are mentioned above, a curious desert was sometimes exhibited,

(*a*). *Collectanea.*

termed

termed *sutteltie*, viz. paste moulded into the shape of animals. On a saint's day, angels, prophets, and patriarchs, were set upon the table in plenty. A feast given by Trivultius to Lewis XII. of France, in the city of Milan, makes a figure in Italian history. No fewer than 1200 ladies were invited ; and the Cardinals of Narbon and St Severin, with many other prelates, were among the dancers. After dancing, followed the feast, to regulate which there were no fewer employ'd than 160 master-households. Twelve hundred officers, in an uniform of velvet, or satin, carried the victuals, and served at the side-board. Every table, without distinction, was served with silver-plate, engraved with the arms of the landlord ; and beside a prodigious number of Italian lords, the whole court, and all the household of the King, were feasted. The bill of fare of an entertainment given by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn to a company of 1500 persons, on his coming of age, is a sample of ancient English hospitality, which appears to have nothing in view but crowding and cramming merely. The following passage is from Hollinshead : " That

" the length and sumptuousness of feasts
" formerly in use, are not totally left off
" in England, notwithstanding that it
" proveth very beneficial to the physicians,
" who most abound where most excess and
" misgovernment of our bodies do ap-
" pear." He adds, that claret, and other
French wines, were despised, and strong
wines only in request. The best, he says,
were to be found in monasteries : for
" that the merchant would have thought
" his soul would go straightway to the
" devil, if he should serve monks with o-
" ther than the best." Our forefathers
relished strong wine, for the same reason
that their forefathers relished brandy. In
Scotland, sumptuous entertainments were
common at marriages, baptisms, and bur-
ials. In the reign of Charles II. a statute
was thought necessary to confine them
within moderate bounds.

Of old, there was much eating, with
little variety : at present, there is great
variety, with more moderation. From a
household-book of the Earl of Northum-
berland, in the reign of Henry VIII. it
appears, that his family, during winter,
fed mostly on salt meat, and salt fish ; and
with

with that view there was an appointment of 160 gallons of mustard. On flesh-days through the year, breakfast for my Lord and Lady was a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled. On meagre days, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, a dish of butter, a piece of salt fish, or a dish of buttered eggs. During lent, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six bacon'd herring, four white herring, or a dish of sproits. There was as little variety in the other meals, except on festival-days. That way of living was at the time high luxury: a lady's waiting-woman at present, would never have done with grumbling at such a table. We learn from the same book, that the Earl had but two cooks for dressing victuals to more than two hundred domestics. In those days, hen, chicken, capon, pigeon, plover, partridge, were reckoned such delicacies, as to be prohibited except at my Lord's table (*a*).

But luxury is always creeping on, and

(*a*) Household-book above mentioned.

delicacies

delicacies become more familiar. Hollinshed observes, that white meats, milk, butter, and cheese, formerly the chief food of his countrymen, were in his time degraded to be the food of the lower sort; and that the wealthy fed upon flesh and fish. By a roll of the King of Scotland's household expence, *anno 1378*, we find, that the art of gelding cattle was known. The roll is in Latin, and the gelt hogs are termed *porcelli eunuchi*. Mention is also made of chickens, which were not common on English tables at that time. Olive oil is also mentioned.

In this progress, cooks, we may believe, came to make a figure. Hollinshed observes, that the nobility, rejecting their own cookery, employ'd as cooks musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers, as he terms them. He says, that even merchants, when they gave a feast, rejected butcher's meat, as unworthy of their tables; having jellies of all colours, and in all figures, representing flowers, trees, beasts, fish, fowl, and fruit. Henry Wardlaw Archbishop of St Andrew's, observing the refinements in cookery introduced by James I. of Scotland, who had
been

been eighteen years a prisoner in England, exclaimed against the abuse in a parliament held at Perth 1433 : he obtained a law, restraining superfluous diet ; and prohibiting the use of baked meat to any under the degree of gentlemen, and permitting it to gentlemen on festival-days only ; which baked meat, says the bishop, was never before seen in Scotland. The peasants in Sicily regale themselves with ice during summer. They say, that scarcity of snow would be more grievous to them than scarcity of corn or of wine. Such progress has luxury made, even among the populace. People of fashion in London and in Paris, who employ their whole thoughts on luxurious living, would be surprised to be told, that they are still deficient in that art. In order to advance luxury of the table to the *acme* of perfection, there ought to be a cook for every dish, as in ancient Egypt there was a physician for every disease.

Barbarous nations, being great eaters, are fond of large joints of meat ; and love of show retains great joints in fashion, even after meals become more moderate : a wild boar was roasted whole for a supper-dish,

per-dish to Anthony and Cleopatra ; and stuffed with poultry and wild-fowl, it was a favourite dish at Rome, termed the *Trojan boar*, in allusion to the Trojan horse. The hospitality of the Anglo-Saxons was sometimes exerted in roasting an ox whole. Great joints are left off gradually, as people become more and more delicate in eating. In France, great joints are less in use than formerly ; and in England, the enormous sirloin, formerly the pride of the nation, is now in polite families banished to the side-board. In China, where manners are carried to a high degree of refinement, dishes are composed entirely of minced meat *.

In early times, people were no less plain

* The size of an animal may be abridged by spare diet ; but its strength and vigour are not abridged in proportion. Our highlanders live very poorly ; and yet are a hardy race. The horses bred in that mountainous country are of a diminutive size ; but no other horses can bear so much fatigue. Camels in the deserts of Arabia are trained to long abstinence. They are loaded more and more as they grow up ; and their food is diminished in proportion. Plenty of succulent food raises an animal to its greatest size ; but its solids are soft and flexible in proportion to its size.

in their houses than in their food. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, when Hollinshead wrote, the people of England were beginning to build with brick and stone. Formerly houses were made of timber posts, wattled together and plastered with clay to keep out the cold : the roof was straw, sedge, or reed. It was an observation of a Spaniard in Queen Mary's days, “ These English have their ‘ houses of sticks and dirt, but they fare ‘ as well as the King.” Hollinshead mentioning multitudes of chimneys lately erected, observes, upon the authority of some old men, that in their younger days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm, religious houses and manor-places of their lords excepted ; but that each made his fire against a rere-dosse in the hall, where he dined, and dressed his meat. From Lord Northumberland’s household-book, it would seem, that grates were unknown at that time, and that they burnt their coal upon the hearth : a certain sum is allotted for purchasing wood ; because, says the book, coals will not burn without it. There is also a certain sum

allotted for purchasing charcoal, that the smoke of the sea-coal might not hurt the arras. In the fourteenth century, the houses of private persons in Paris, as well as in London, were of wood. Morrison, who wrote in the beginning of the last century, says, that at London the houses of the citizens were very narrow in the street-front, five or six stories high, commonly of wood and clay with plaster. The streets of Paris, not being paved, were covered with mud; and yet for a woman to travel these streets in a cart, was held an article of luxury, and as such prohibited by Philip the Fair. Paris is enlarged two thirds since the death of Henry IV. tho' at that time it was perhaps no less populous than at present.

People were equally plain in their household-furniture. While money was scarce, servants got land instead of wages. An old tenure in England, binds the vassal to find straw for the King's bed, and hay for his horse. From Lord Northumberland's household-book, mentioned above, it appears, that the linen allowed for a whole year amounted to no more but seventy ells; of which there were to be eight table-cloths

cloths (no napkins) for his Lordship's table, and two towels for washing his face and hands. Pewter vessels were prohibited to be hired, except on Christmas, Easter, St George's day, and Whitsunday. Hollinshed mentions his conversing with old men who remarked many alterations in England within their remembrance; that their fathers, and they themselves formerly, had nothing to sleep on but a straw pallat, with a log of wood for a pillow; a pillow, said they, being thought meet only for a woman in childbed; and that if a man in seven years after marriage could purchase a flock-bed, and a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself as well lodged as the lord of the town; who peradventure lay seldom on a bed entirely of feathers. Another thing they remarked, was change of household-vessel from timber plates into pewter, and from wooden spoons into tin or silver.

Nor were they less plain in their dress. By an act of parliament in Scotland, *anno 1429*, none were permitted to wear silk or costly furs, but knights and lords of 200 merks yearly rent. But luxury in dress advanced so fast, that by another

act, *anno 1457*, the same dress was permitted to aldermen, bailies, and other good worthy men within burgh. And by a third act, *anno 1471*, it was permitted to gentlemen of L. 100 yearly rent. By a sumptuary law in Scotland, *anno 1621*, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver lace, velvet, satin, and other silk stuffs, were prohibited except to noblemen, their wives and children, to lords of parliament, prelates, privy counsellors, lords of manors, judges, magistrates of towns, and to those who have 6000 merks of yearly rent. Such distinctions, with respect to land especially, are invidious; nor can they ever be kept up. James, the first British monarch, was, during infancy, committed to the care of the Dowager-Countess of Mar, who had been educated in France. The King being seized with a cholic in the night-time, his household servants flew to his bed-chamber, men and women, naked as they were born; the Countess only had a smock.

During the reign of Edward III. the imports into England were not the seventh part of the exports. Our exports at that time were not the seventh part of our present

fent exports ; and yet our luxury is such, that with all our political regulations, it is with difficulty that the balance of trade is preserved in our favour.

Men in different ages differ widely in their notions of luxury : every new object of sensual gratification and every indulgence beyond what is usual, are commonly termed *luxury* ; and cease to be luxury when they turn habitual. Thus, every historian, ancient and modern, while he inveighs against the luxury of his own times, wonders at former historians for characterising as luxury what he considers as conveniences merely, or rational improvements. Hear the Roman historian, talking of the war that his countrymen carried on successfully against Antiochus King of Syria : “ Luxuriæ enim peregrinæ
 “ origo ab exercitu Asiatico inventa urbem
 “ est. Ii primum lectos æratos, vestem
 “ stragulam pretiosam, plagulas et alia
 “ textilia, et quæ tum magnificæ supel-
 “ lectilis habebantur, monopodia et aba-
 “ cos Romam advexerunt. Tunc psaltriæ,
 “ fambusistriæque, et convivalia ludionum
 “ oblectamenta addita epulis : epulæ quo-
 “ que ipsæ et cura et sumptu majore ad-
 “ parari

“ parari cœptæ : tum coquus, vilissimum
 “ antiquis mancipium estimatione et usu,
 “ in pretio esse; et, quod ministerium fue-
 “ rat, ars haberi cœpta. Vix tamen illa,
 “ quæ tum conspiciebantur, semina erant
 “ futuræ luxuriæ * (a).” Household-
 furniture at Rome must at that period have
 been wonderfully plain, when a carpet
 and a one-footed table were reckoned ar-
 ticles of luxury. When the gelding of
 bulls and rams was first practised, it was
 probably considered as abominable luxury.
 Galvanus Fiamma, who in the fourteenth
 century wrote a history of Milan, his na-

* “ For the Asiatic soldiers first introduced into Rome the foreign luxury. They first brought with them beds ornamented with brazen sculptures, painted coverings, curtains and tapestry, and what were then esteemed magnificent furniture, side-boards, and tables with one foot. Then to the luxury of our feasts were added singing girls, female players on the lute, and morris dancers : greater care and expence were bestowed upon our entertainments : the cook, whom our forefathers reckoned the meanest slave, became now in high esteem and request ; and what was formerly a servile employment, was now exalted into a science. All these however scarcely deserve to be reckoned the seeds or buds of the luxury of after times.”

(a) Tit. Liv. lib. 39. cap. 6.

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tive country, complains, that in his time plain living had given way to luxury and extravagance. He regrets the times of Frederic Barbarossa and Frederic II. when the inhabitants of Milan, a great capital, had but three flesh meals in a week, when wine was a rarity, when the better sort made use of dried wood for candles, and when their shirts were of serge, linen being confined to persons of the highest rank.

"Matters," says he, "are wonderfully changed: linen is a common wear: the women dress in silk, ornamented frequently with gold and silver; and they wear gold pendants at their ears." A historian of the present times would laugh at Fiamma, for stating as articles of luxury what are no more but decent for a tradesman and his wife. John Muffo, a native of Lombardy, who also wrote in the fourteenth century, declaims against the luxury of his contemporaries, particularly against that of the citizens of Placentia, his countrymen. "Luxury of the table," says he, "of dress, of houses and household furniture, in Placentia, began to creep in after the year 1300. Houses have at present halls, rooms with chimneys,

“ neys, portico’s, wells, gardens, and ma-
“ ny other conveniences, unknown to our
“ ancestors. A house that has now many
“ chimneys, had none in the last age. The
“ fire was placed in the middle of the
“ house, without any vent for the smoke
“ but the tiles: all the family sat round
“ it, and the victuals were dressed there.
“ The expence of household-furniture is
“ ten times greater than it was sixty years
“ ago. The taste for such expence comes
“ to us from France, from Flanders, and
“ from Spain. Eating-tables, formerly
“ but twelve inches long, are now grown
“ to eighteen. They have table-cloths,
“ with cups, spoons, and forks, of silver,
“ and large knives. Beds have silk co-
“ verings and curtains. They have got
“ candles of tallow or wax in candlesticks
“ of iron or copper. Almost every where
“ there are two fires, one for the chamber
“ and one for the kitchen. Confections
“ have come greatly in use, and sensuality
“ regards no expence.” Hollinshed ex-
claims against the luxury and effeminacy
that prevailed in his time. “ In times
“ past,” says he, “ men were contented
“ to dwell in houses builded of fallow,

" willow, plumtree, or elm ; so that the
" use of oak was dedicated to churches,
" religious houses, princes palaces, noble-
" mens lodgings, and navigation. But
" now, these are rejected, and nothing
" but oak any whit regarded. And yet
" see the change ; for when our houses
" were builded of willow, then had we
" oaken men ; but now that our houses
" are made of oak, our men are not only
" become willow, but many, through
" Persian delicacy crept in among us, al-
" together of straw, which is a sore alter-
" ation. In those days, the courage of the
" owner was a sufficient defence to keep
" the house in safety ; but now, the assur-
" ance of the timber, double doors, locks
" and bolts, must defend the man from
" robbing. Now, have we many chim-
" neys, and our tenderlings complain of
" rheums, catarrhs, and poses. Then,
" had we none but rere-dosses, and our
" heads did never ake. For as the smoke
" in those days was supposed to be a suf-
" ficient hardening for the timber of the
" house ; so it was reputed a far better
" medicine to keep the goodman and his
" family from the quack or pose, where-
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" with very few were then acquainted." Not many more than fifty years ago, French wine, in Edinburgh taverns, was presented to the guests in a small tin vessel, measuring about an English pint. A single drinking-glass served a company the whole evening; and the first persons who insisted for a clean glass with every new pint, were accused of luxury. A knot of highlanders benighted, wrapped themselves up in their plaids, and lay down in the snow to sleep. A young gentleman making up a ball of snow, used it for a pillow. His father (*a*), striking away the ball with his foot, " What, Sir," says he, " are you turning effeminate?" Crantz, describing the kingdom of Norway and the manners of the people, has the following reflection. " Robustissimos educat viros, " qui, nulla frugum luxuria moliti, sxe- " pius impugnant alios quam impug- " nantur *." In the mountainous island

* " It produces a most robust race of men, who are enervated by no luxury of food, and are more prone to attack and harass their neighbours than subjected to their attacks."

(*a*) Sir Evan Cameron.

of Rum, one of the western islands of Scotland, the corn produced serves the inhabitants but a few months in winter. The rest of the year they live on flesh, fish, and milk; and yet are healthy and long-lived. In the year 1768, a man died there aged 103, who was 50 years old before he ever tasted bread. This old man frequently harangued upon the plain fare of former times; finding fault with his neighbours for indulging in bread, and upbraiding them for toiling like slaves to produce such an unnecessary article of luxury. The inhabitants of Canada before they were known to Europeans, were but thinly cloathed in a bitter cold climate. They had no covering but a single skin, girded about them with a belt of leather. The coarse woollen cloath which they were taught to wear by the French, raised bitter lamentations in their old men for increase of luxury and decline of manners.

Thus, every one exclaims against the luxury of the present times, judging more favourably of the past; as if what is luxury at present, would cease to be luxury when it becomes customary. What is the foundation of a sentiment so universal?

In point of dignity, corporeal pleasures are the lowest of all that belong to our nature ; and for that reason persons of delicacy dissemble the pleasure they have in eating and drinking (*a*). When corporeal pleasure is indulged to excess, it is not only low, but mean. But as in judging of things that admit of degrees, comparison is the ordinary standard ; every refinement in corporeal pleasure beyond what is customary, is held to be a blameable excess, below the dignity of human nature. For that reason, every improvement in living is pronounced to be luxury while recent, and drops that character when it comes into common use. For the same reason, what is moderation in the capital, is esteemed luxury in a country-town. Doth luxury then depend entirely on comparison ? is there no other foundation for distinguishing moderation from excess ? This will hardly be maintained.

This subject is rendered obscure by giving different meanings to the term *luxury*. A French writer holds every sort of food to be luxury but raw flesh and acorns, which were the original food of savages ;

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. I. p. 356. edit. 5.

and every sort of covering to be luxury but skins, which were their original cloathing. According to that definition, the plough, the spade, the loom, are all of them instruments of luxury; in which view, he justly extols luxury to the skies. We are born naked, because we can clothe ourselves; and artificial cloathing is to man as much in the order of nature, as hair or feathers are to other animals. But whatever accords to the common nature of man, is right; and for that reason cannot in a proper sense be termed *luxury*. Shoes are a refinement from walking barefoot; and Voltaire, taking this refinement to be luxury, laughs at those who declaim against luxury. Let every man enjoy the privilege of giving his own meaning to words: but when a man deviates so far from their usual meaning, the neglect to define them is inexcusable. In common language and in common apprehension, luxury always implies a faulty excess; and upon that account, is condemned by all writers, such only excepted as affect to be singular.

Faulty excess is clearly one branch of the definition of luxury. Another is, that

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the excess must be habitual: a single act of intemperance, however faulty, is not denominated luxury: reiteration must be so frequent, as to become a confirmed habit.

Nor are these particulars all that enter into the definition of luxury. There are many pleasures, however intemperate or habitual, that are not branded with that odious name. Mental pleasure, such as arises from sentiment or reasoning, falls not within the verge of luxury, to whatever excess indulged. If to relieve merit in distress be luxury, it is only so in a metaphorical sense: nor is it deemed luxury in a damsel of fifteen to peruse love-novels from morning till evening. Luxury is confined to the external senses: nor does it belong to every one of these: the fine arts have no relation to luxury. A man is not even said to be luxurious, merely for indulging in dress, or in fine furniture. Hollinshed inveighs against drinking-glasses as an article of luxury. At that rate, a house adorned with fine pictures or statues, would be an imputation on the proprietor. Thus, passing in review every pleasure of external sense, we find, that

that in proper language the term luxury is not applicable to any pleasure of the eye or ear. That term is confined to the pleasures of taste, touch, and smell, which appear as existing at the organ of sense, and upon that account are held to be merely corporeal (*a*).

Having thus circumscribed our subject within its proper bounds, the important point that remains to be ascertained is, Whether we have any rule for determining what excess in corporeal pleasure may justly be denominated faulty. About that point we are at no loss. Tho' our present life be a state of trial, yet our Maker has kindly indulged us in every pleasure that is not hurtful to the mind nor to the body; and therefore no excess but what is hurtful falls under the censure of being luxurious: it is faulty as a transgression of self-duty; and as such is condemned by the moral sense. The most violent disclaimer against luxury will not affirm, that bread is luxury, or a snow-ball used for a pillow: these are innocent, because they do no harm. As little will it be affirmed, that dwelling-houses more capacious than

(*a*) See Elements of Criticism, Introduction.

those originally built, ought to be condemned as luxury ; seeing they contribute to cheerfulness as well as to health. The plague, some centuries ago, made frequent visits to London, promoted by air stagnating in narrow streets and small houses. From the great fire *anno* 1666, when the houses and streets were enlarged, the plague has not once been in London.

Man consists of soul and body, so intimately connected that the one cannot be at ease while the other suffers. In order to have *mens sana in corpore sano*, it is necessary to study the health of both : bodily health supports the mind ; and nothing tends more than cheerfulness to support the body, even under a disease. To preserve this complicated machine in order, certain exercizes are proper for the body, and certain for the mind ; which ought never to encroach the one on the other. Much motion and bodily exercise tend to make us robust ; but in the mean time the mind is starved : much reading and reflection fortify the mind, but in the mean time the body is starved. Nor is this all : excess in either is destructive to both ; for exercise too violent, whether of

mind or body, wears the machine. Indolence, on the other hand, relaxes the machine, and renders it weak or useless. Bodily indolence breeds the gout, the gravel, and many other diseases: nor is mental indolence less pernicious, for it breeds peevishness and pusillanimity. Thus, health both of mind and body is best preserved by moderate exercise. And hence a general proposition, That every indulgence in corporeal pleasure, which favours either too violent or too languid exercise, whether of mind or body, is hurtful, and consequently is luxury in its proper sense. It is scarce necessary to be added, that every such indulgence is condemned by the moral sense; of which every man can bear testimony from what he himself feels.

Too great indulgence in corporeal pleasure seldom prompts violent exercise; but instances are without number, of its relaxing even that moderate degree of exercise which is healthful both to mind and body. This in particular is the case of too great indulgence in eating or drinking: such indulgence, creating a habitual appetite for more than nature requires,

loads the stomach, depresses the spirits ; and brings on a habit of listlessness and inactivity, which renders men cowardly and effeminate *. And what does the epicure gain by such excess ? In a grand palace, the master occupies not a greater space than his meanest domestic ; and brings to his most sumptuous feast, perhaps less appetite than any of his guests. Satiety withal makes him lose the relish even of rarities, which afford to others a poignant pleasure. Listen to a sprightly writer handling this subject. “ Le peuple ” ne s’ennuie guerre, sa vie est active ; si ” ses amusemens ne font pas variés, ils ” font rares ; beaucoup de jours de fa- ” tigue lui font goûter avec délices quel- ” ques jours de fêtes. Une alternative de ” longs travaux et de courts loisirs tient ” lieu d’affaiblissement aux plaisirs de son ” état. Pour les riches, leur grand fléau

* Luxury and selfishness render men cowards. People who are attached to riches or to sensual pleasure, cannot think without horror of abandoning them. A virtuous man considers himself as placed here in order to obey the will of his Maker : he performs his duty, and is ready to quit his post upon the first summons.

“ c’est

" c'est l'ennui : au sein de tant d'amusemens rassemblés à grands frais, au milieu de tant de gens concourans à leur plaisir, l'ennui les consume et les tue ; ils passent leur vie à le fuir et à en être atteints ; ils sont accablés de son poids insupportable : les femmes, sur-tout, qui ne savent plus s'occuper, ni s'amuser, en sont dévorées sous le nom de vapeurs." *Rousseau, Emile.* What enjoyment then have the opulent above others ? Let them bestow their riches in making others happy : benevolence will double their own happiness ; first, in the direct act of doing good ; and next, in reflecting upon the good they have done, the most delicate of all feasts.

Had the English continued Pagans, they would have invented a new deity to preside over cookery. I say it with regret, but must say it, that a luxurious table, covered with every dainty, seems to be their favourite idol. A minister of state never withstands a feast ; and the link that unites those in opposition, is the cramming one another *. I shall not be surprised to

* This was composed in the year 1770.

hear, that the cramming a mistress has become the most fashionable mode of courtship. Luxury in eating is not unknown in their universities ; the only branch of education that seldom proves abortive. It has not escaped observation, that between the 1740 and 1770 no fewer than six mayors of London died in office, a greater number than in the preceding 500 years : such havock doth luxury in eating make among the sons of Albion *. How different the manners of their fore-fathers ! Bonduca their Queen, ready to engage the Romans in a pitched battle, encouraged her army with a pathetic speech, urging in particular the following consideration : " The great advantage we have over them is, that they cannot, like us, bear hunger, thirst, heat, nor cold. They must have fine bread, wine, and warm houses : every herb and root

* Suicide is not influenced by a foggy air ; for it is not more frequent in the fens of Lincoln or Essex, than in other parts of England. A habit of daily excess in eating and drinking, with intervals of downy ease, relax every mental spring. The man flags in his spirits, becomes languid and low : nothing moves him : every connection with the world is dissolved : a *tedium vita* ensues ; and then —

" satisfies

" satisfies our hunger ; water supplies the
" want of wine ; and every tree is to us a
" warm house (a) *."

The indulging in down-beds, soft pillows, and easy seats, is a species of luxury ; because it tends to enervate the body, and to render it unfit for fatigue. Some London ladies employ an operator for pairing their nails. Two young women of high quality, who were sisters, employ'd a servant with soft hands to raise them gently out of bed in a morning. Nothing less than all-powerful vanity, can make such persons submit to the fatigues of a toilet : how can they ever think of submitting to the horrid pangs of child-bearing ? In the hot climates of Asia, people of rank are rubbed and chaffed twice a-day ; which, beside being pleasant, is necessary for health, by moving the blood in a hot country, where sloth and indo-

* Providence has provided the gout as a beacon on the rock of luxury to warn against it. But in vain : during distress, vows of temperance are made : during the intervals, these vows are forgot. Luxury has gained too much ground in this island, to be restrained by admonition.

(a) *Dien Cassius.*

lence prevail. The Greeks and Romans were curried, bathed, and oiled, daily ; tho' they had not the same excuse for that practice : it was luxury in them, tho' not in the Asiatics.

Nations where luxury is unknown, are troubled with few diseases, and have few physicians by profession. In the early ages of Rome, women and slaves were the only physicians, because vegetables were the chief food of the people ; who beside were constantly employ'd in war or in husbandry. When luxury prevailed among the Romans, their diseases multiplied, and physic became a liberal profession.

With respect to exercise, the various machines that have been invented for executing every sort of work, render bodily strength of less importance than formerly. This change is favourable to mental operations, without hurting bodily health. The travelling on horseback, tho' a less vigorous exertion of strength than walking, is not luxury, because it is a healthful exercise. I dare not say so much for wheel-carriages : a spring-coach rolling along a smooth road, gives no exercise ; or so

so little, as to be preventive of no disease: it tends to enervate the body, and in some measure also the mind. The increase of wheel-carriages within a century, is a pregnant proof of the growth of luxurious indolence. During the reign of James I. the English judges rode to Westminster on horseback, and probably did so for many years after his death. Charles I. issued a proclamation, prohibiting hackney-coaches to be used in London, except by those who travel at least three miles out of town. At the Restoration, Charles II. made his public entry into London on horseback, between his two brothers, Dukes of York and Gloucester. We have Rushworth for our voucher, that in London, not above a hundred years ago, there were but twenty hackney-coaches; which did not ply on the streets, but were kept at home till called for. He adds, that the King and council published a proclamation against them; because they raised the price of provender upon the King, nobility, and gentry. At present, 1000 hackney-coaches ply on the streets of London; beside a great number of stage-coaches for travelling from London to all parts of the kingdom.

dom. The first coach with glasses in France was brought from Brussels to Paris, *anno 1660*, by the Prince of Condé. Sedan-chairs were not known in England before the year 1634. Cookery and coaches have reduced the military spirit of the English nobility and gentry, to a languid state: the former, by overloading the body, has infected them with diphilting ailments; the latter, by fostering ease and indolence, have banished labour, the only antidote to such ailments *. Too great indulgence in the fine arts, consumes part of the time that ought to be employ'd on the important duties of life: but the fine arts, even when too much indulged, produce one good effect, which is, to soften and humanize our manners: nor do they harm the body, if they relax not that degree of exercise which is necessary for supporting it in health and vigour.

* J'ai toujours vu ceux qui voyageoient dans de bonnes voitures bien douces, rêveurs, tristes, grondans ou souffrants; et les piétons toujours gais, légers, et contens de tout. Combien le cœur rit quand on approche du gîte! Combien un repas grossier paroît savoureux! avec quel plaisir on se repose à table! Quel bon sommeil on fait dans un mauvais lit! *Rousseau Emile.*

The enervating effects of luxury upon the body, are above all remarkable in war. The officers of Alexander's army, were soon tainted with Asiatic manners. Most of them, after bathing, had servants for rubbing them, and instead of plain oil, used precious ointments. Leonatus in particular commissioned from Egypt the powder he used when he wrestled, which loaded several camels. Alexander reproved them mildly : “ I wonder that men who have undergone such fatigues in war, are not taught by experience, that labour produces sweeter and sounder sleep than indolence. To be voluptuous, is an abject and slavish state. How can a man take care of his horse, or keep his armour bright, who despairs to employ his own hands upon what is dearest to him, his own body (*a*) ? ”

With respect to the mind in particular, manifold are the pernicious effects of luxury. Corporeal pleasures are all of them selfish ; and when much indulged tend to make selfishness the leading principle. Voluptuousness accordingly, relaxing every

(*a*) Plutarch.

sympathetic affection, brings on a beastly selfishness, which leaves nothing of man but the external figure. Luxury beside renders the mind so effeminate, as to be subdued by every distress: the slightest pain, whether of mind or body, is a real evil: and any higher degree becomes a torture. The French are far gone in that disease. Pictures of deep distress, which attract English spectators, are to the French unsupportable: their aversion to pain overcomes the attractive power of sympathy, and debars from the stage every distress that makes a deep impression. The British are gradually sinking into the same weakness: *Venice preserv'd* collects not such numbers as it did originally; and would scarce be endured, were not our sympathy blunted by familiarity: a new play in a similar tone would not take. The gradual decay of manhood in Britain, appears from their funeral rites. Formerly the deceased were attended to the grave, by relations and friends of both sexes; and the day of their death was preserved in remembrance, with solemn lamentation, as the day of their birth was with exhilarating cups. In England, a man was first relieved

relieved from attending his deceased wife to the grave ; and afterward from attending his deceased children ; and now such effeminacy of mind prevails there, that upon the last groan, the deceased, abandoned by every relation, is delivered to an undertaker by profession, who is left at leisure to mimick the funeral rites. In Scotland, such refinement has not yet taken place : a man is indeed excused from attending his wife to the grave ; but he performs that duty in person to every other relation, his children not excepted. I am told, that people of high fashion in England, begin to leave the care of their sick relations to hired nurses ; and think they do their duty in making short visits from time to time.

Hitherto I have considered luxury with respect to those only who are infected with it ; and did its poison spread no wider, the case perhaps would be the less deplorable. But unhappily, where luxury prevails, the innocent suffer with the guilty. A man of economy, whether a merchant or a manufacturer, lays up a stock for his children, and adds useful members to the state. A man, on the contrary, who lives

above his fortune, or his profits, accustoms his children to luxury, and abandons them to poverty when he dies. Luxury at the same time is a great enemy to population : it enhances the expence of living, and confines many to the bachelor-state. Luxury of the table in particular is remarkable for that effect : " L'homme riche met toute sa gloire à consommer, toute sa grandeur à perdre, en un jour à sa table, plus de biens qu'il n'en faudroit pour faire subsister plusieurs familles. Il abuse également et des animaux et des hommes ; dont le reste demeure affamé, languit dans la misére, et ne travaille que pour satisfaire à l'appétit immodéré, et à la vanité encore plus insatiable, de cet homme ; qui detruisant les autres par la disette, se detruit lui-même par les exces (a) *."

To

(a) Buffon.

* " The sole glory of the rich man is, to consume and destroy ; and his grandeur consists, in lavishing in one day upon the expence of his table what would procure subsistence for many families. He abuses equally animals and his fellow-creatures ; a great part of whom, a prey to famine, and languishing in misery, labour and toil

" to.

To consider luxury in a political view, no refinement of dress, of the table, of equipage, of habitation, is luxury in those who can afford the expence; and the public gains by the encouragement that is given to arts, manufactures, and commerce. But a mode of living above a man's annual income, weakens the state, by reducing to poverty, not only the squanderers themselves, but many innocent and industrious persons connected with them. Luxury is above all pernicious in a commercial state. A person of moderation is satisfied with small profits: not so the luxurious, who despise every branch of trade but what returns great profits: other branches are ingrossed by foreigners who are more frugal. The merchants of Amsterdam, and even of London, within a century, lived with more economy than their clerks do at present. Their country-houses and gardens, make not the greatest articles of their expence. At first, a merchant retires to his country-house on Sundays only and holy-

“ to satisfy his immoderate desires, and insatiable
“ vanity; who, destroying others by want, destroys
“ himself by excess.”

days : but beginning to relish indolent retirement, business grows irksome, he trusts all to his clerks, loses the thread of his affairs, sees no longer with his own eyes, and is now in the high way to perdition. Every cross accident makes him totter ; and in labouring circumstances, he is tempted to venture all in hopes of re-establishment. He falls at last to downright gaming ; which, setting conscience aside, is a prudent measure : he risks only the money of his creditors, for he himself has nothing to lose : it is now with him, *Cæsar aut nihil**. Such a man never falls without involving many in his ruin.

The bad effects of luxury above display'd, are not the whole, nor indeed the most destructive. In all times luxury has been the ruin of every state where it prevailed. But that more important branch of the subject, is reserved to particular sketches, where it will make a better figure.

In the savage state, man is almost all body, with a very small proportion of mind. In the maturity of civil society,

* “ Cæsar or nothing.”

he is complete both in mind and body. In a state of degeneracy by luxury and voluptuousness, he has neither mind nor body *.

* In ancient Egypt, execution against the person of a debtor was prohibited. Such a law could not obtain but among a temperate people, where bankruptcy happens by misfortune, and seldom by luxury or extravagance.

SKETCHES

S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y O F M A N.

B O O K . II.

Progress of MEN IN SOCIETY.

P R E F A C E.

*I*N the course of explaining this subject, no opportunity is omitted of suggesting an important doctrine, That patriotism is the cornerstone of civil society; that no nation ever became great and powerful without it; and, when extinguished, that the most powerful nation will totter and become a ruin. But I profess only to state facts. From these the reader will not fail to draw the observation: and what he himself observes will sink deeper, than what is inculcated by an author, however pathetically.

SKETCH

S K E T C H L.

Appetite for Society. — Origin of National Societies.

THAT there is in man an appetite for society, never was called in question *. But to what end the appetite serves, whether it embrace the whole species or be in any manner limited, whether

* This appetite is not denied by Vitruvius; but it seems to have been overlooked in the account he gives (book 2. ch. 1.) of the commencement of society, which is as follows. " In ancient times, men, like wild beasts, lived in caves and woods, feeding on wild food. In a certain place it happened, that the trees, put in motion by tempestuous winds, and rubbing their branches one against another, took fire. Those in the neighbourhood fled for fear: but as the flame abated, they approached; and finding the heat comfortable, they threw wood into the fire, and preserved it from being extinguished. They then invited others to take benefit of the fire. Men, thus assembled, endeavoured to express their thoughts by articulate sounds; and by daily practice, certain sounds signifying things in frequent use, came to be established.

ther men be naturally qualified for being useful members of civil society, and whether they are fitted for being happy in it, are questions that open extensive views into human nature, and yet have been little attended to by writers. I grieve at the ne-

" blished. From that casual event, language arose.
" And thus, fire having attracted many to one
" place, they soon discovered that they were by na-
" ture superior to other animals, differing from
" them not only in an erect posture, which gave
" them opportunity to behold the beauties of the
" heavens as well as of the earth ; but also in their
" hands and fingers, fitted for executing whatever
" they could invent. They therefore began to
" cover their habitations with the boughs of trees :
" some dug caves in the mountains ; and, in imita-
" tion of a swallow's nest, some sheltered themselves
" with sprigs and loam. Thus, by observing each
" other's work and turning their thoughts to inven-
" tion, they by degrees improved their habitations,
" and became daily more and more skilful." Diodo-
rus Siculus (lib. 1.) says, that men originally led a sa-
vage life, without any society ; that fear made them
join for mutual defence against beasts of prey ; that
custom by degrees made them social ; and that each
society formed a language to itself. Has not the ce-
lebrated Rousseau been guilty of the same oversight
in his essay on the inequality of men ? These au-
thors suggest to me the butcher, who made diligent
search for his knife, which he held in his teeth.

glect,

glect, because in the present enquiry, these questions, however abstruse, must be discussed.

As many animals, beside man, are social, it appeared to me probable, that the social laws by which such animals are governed, might open views into the social nature of man. But here I met with a second disappointment: for after perusing books without end, I found very little satisfaction; tho' the laws of animal society make the most instructive and most entertaining part of natural history. A few dry facts, collected occasionally, enabled me to form the embryo of a plan, which I here present to the reader: if his curiosity be excited, 'tis well; for I am far from expecting that it will be gratified.

Animals of prey have no appetite for society, if the momentary act of copulation be not excepted. Wolves make not an exception, even where hunger makes them join to attack a village: as fear prevents them singly from an attempt so hazardous, their casual union is prompted by appetite for food, not by appetite for society. So little of the social is there in wolves, that if one happen to be wounded,

he is put to death and devoured by those of his own kind. Vultures have the same disposition. Their ordinary food is a dead carcase ; and they never venture, but in a body, to attack any living creature that appears formidable. Upon society happiness so much depends, that we do not willingly admit a lion, a tiger, a bear, or a wolf, to have any appetite for society. And in with-holding it from such animals, the goodness of Providence to its favourite man, is conspicuous : their strength, agility, and voracity, make them singly not a little formidable : I should tremble for the human race, were they disposed to make war in company *.

Such

* The care of Providence in protecting the human race from animals of prey, is equally visible in other particulars. I can discover no facts to make me believe, that a lion or a tiger is afraid of a man ; but whatever secret means are employ'd by Providence to keep such fierce and voracious animals at a distance, certain it is, that they shun the habitations of men. At present there is not a wild lion in Europe. Even in Homer's time there were none in Peloponnesus, tho' they were frequent in Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly, down to the time of Aristotle : whence it is probable, that these countries were not at that time well peopled. And the same

Such harmless animals as are unable to defend themselves singly, are provided with an appetite for society, that they

same probability holds with respect to several mountainous parts in China, which even at present are infested with tigers. When men and cattle are together, a lion always attacks a beast, and never a man. If we can rely on Bosman, a tiger in Guinea will not touch a man if there be a four-footed beast in sight. M. Buffon observes, that the bear, tho' far from being cowardly, never is at ease but in wild and desart places. The great condor of Peru, a bird of prey of an immense size, bold and rapacious, is never seen but in desarts and high mountains. Every river in the coast of Guinea abounds with crocodiles, which lie basking in the sun during the heat of the day. If they perceive a man approaching, they plunge into the river, tho' they seldom fly from any other animal. A fox, on the contrary, a pole-cat, a kite, tho' afraid of man, draw near to inhabited places where they find prey in plenty. Such animals do little mischief; and the little they do, promotes care and vigilance. But if men, like sheep, were the natural prey of a lion or a tiger, their utmost vigour and sagacity would scarce be sufficient for self-defence. Perpetual war would be their fate, without having a single moment for any other occupation; and they must for ever have continued in a brutish state. It is possible that a few cattle might be protected by armed men, continually on the watch; but to defend flocks and herds covering a hundred hills, would be impracticable. Agriculture could never have existed in any shape.

may defend themselves in a body. Sheep are remarkable in that respect, when left to nature: a ram seldom attacks; but the rams of a flock exert great vigour in defending their females and their young *. Two of Bakewell's rams, brought to Langholm in the Duke of Buccleugh's estate, kept close together. The one was taken ill, and died, the other gave close attend-

* M. Buffon has bestowed less pains than becomes an author of his character, upon the nature and instincts of animals. He scarce once stumbles upon truth in his natural history of the sheep. He holds it to be stupid, and incapable to defend itself against any beast of prey; maintaining, that the race could not have subsisted but under the care and protection of men. Has that author forgot, that sheep had no enemy more formidable than men in their original hunter-state? Far from being neglected by nature, there are few animals better provided for defence. They have a sort of military instinct, forming a line of battle, like soldiers, when threatened with an attack. The rams, who, in a natural state, make half of the flock, join together; and no lion or tiger is able to resist their united impetuosity. A ram, educated by a soldier, accompanied his master to the battle of Culloden. When a cannon was fired, it rejoiced and run up to it. It actually began the battle, advancing before the troops, and attacking some dogs of the highland army.

ance,

ānce, stood beside the dead body, and abstained from food for some days: nor did it recover its spirits for a long time. The whole society of rooks join in attacking a kite, when it hovers about them. A family of wild swine never separate, till the young be sufficiently strong to defend themselves against the wolf; and when the wolf threatens, they all join in a body. The pecary is a sort of wild hog in the isthmus of Darien: if one of them be attacked, the rest run to assist it. There being a natural antipathy between that animal and the American tiger, it is not uncommon to find a tiger slain with a number of dead pecaries round him.

The social appetite is to some animals useful, not only for defence, but for procuring the necessaries of life. Society among beavers is a notable instance of both. As water is the only refuge of that innocent species against an enemy, they instinctively make their settlement on the brink of a lake or of a running stream. In the latter case, they keep up the water to a proper height by a dam-dike, constructed with so much art as to withstand the greatest floods: in the former, they save

save themselves the labour of a dam-dike, because a lake generally keeps at the same height. Having thus provided for defence, their next care is to provide food and habitation. The whole society join in erecting the dam-dike; and they also join in erecting houses. Each house has two apartments: in the upper there is space for lodging from six to ten beavers: the under holds their provisions, which are trees cut down by united labour, and divided into small portable parts (*a*). Bees are a similar instance. Aristotle (*b*) says, “that bees are the only animals which labour in common, have a house in common, eat in common, and have their offspring in common.” A single bee would be still less able than a single beaver, to build a house for itself and for its winter-food. The Alpine rat or marmout has no occasion to store up food for winter, because it lies benumbed without motion all the cold months. But these animals live in tribes; and each tribe digs a habitation under ground with

(*a*) See the works of the beaver described most accurately by M. Buffon, vol. 8.

(*b*) History of animals, b. 9. c. 40,

great art, sufficiently capacious for lodging the whole tribe; covering the bottom with withered grafts, which some cut, and others carry. The wild dogs of Congo and Angola hunt in packs, waging perpetual war against other wild beasts. They bring to the place of rendezvous whatever is caught in hunting; and each receives its share *. The baboons are social animals, and avail themselves of that quality in procuring food; witness their address in robbing an orchard, described by Kolben in his account of the Cape of Good Hope. Some go into the orchard, some place themselves on the wall, the rest form a line on the outside, and the fruit is thrown from hand to hand till it reach the place of rendezvous. Extending the enquiry to all known animals, we find that the appetite for society is withheld from no species to which it is necessary, whether for defence or for food. It appears to be distributed by weight and mea-

* However fierce with respect to other animals, yet so submissive are these dogs to men, as to suffer their prey to be taken from them without resistance. Europeans salt for their slaves what they thus procure.

sure, in order to accommodate the internal frame of animals to their external circumstances.

On some animals an appetite for society is bestow'd, tho' in appearance not necessary either for defence or for food. With regard to such, the only final cause we can discover is the pleasure of living in society. That kind of society is found among horses. Outhier, one of the French academicians employ'd to measure a degree of the meridian toward the north pole, reports, that at Torneo all bulky goods are carried in boats during summer; but in winter, when the rivers are frozen and the ground covered with snow, that they use sledges drawn by horses; that when the snow melts and the rivers are open, the horses, set loose, rendezvous at a certain part of the forest, where they separate into troops, and occupy different pasture-fields; that when these fields become bare, they occupy new ground in the same order as at first; that they return home in troops when the bad weather begins; and that every horse knows its own stall. No creature stands less in need of society than a hare, whether for food or for defence.

Of

Of fool, it has plenty under its feet ; and for defence, it is provided both with cunning and swiftness. Nothing however is more common in a moon-light night, than to see hares sporting together in the most social manner. But society for pleasure only, is an imperfect kind of society ; and far from being so intimate, as where it is provided by nature for defence, or for procuring food *.

With

* Pigeons must be excepted, if their society be not necessary either for food or habitation, of which I am uncertain. Society among that species is extremely intimate ; and it is observable, that the place they inhabit contributes to the intimacy. A crazy dove-cot moved the proprietor to transfer the inhabitants to a new house built for them ; and to accustom them to it, they were kept a fortnight within doors, with plenty of food. When they obtained liberty, they flew directly to their old house ; and seeing it laid flat, walked round and round, lamenting. They then took wing and disappeared, without once casting an eye on their new habitation. Some brute animals are susceptible of affection even to those of a different species. Of the affection a dog has for his master, no person is ignorant. A canary bird, so tame as to be let out of its cage, perched frequently on another cage in the same room inhabited by a linnet ; and the birds became good friends. The linnet died : the canary bird

With respect to the extent of the appetite, no social animal, as far as can be discovered, has an appetite for associating with the whole species. Every species is divided into many small tribes; and these tribes have no appetite for associating with each other: on the contrary, a stray sheep is thrust out of the flock, and a stray bee must instantly retire, or be stung to death. The dogs of a family never fail to attack a stranger dog, bent to destroy him. If the stranger submit, they do him no harm *. Every work of Providence contributes to some good end: a small tribe is sufficient for mutual defence; and a very large tribe would find difficulty in procuring subsistence.

How far brute animals are by nature qualified for being useful members of civil society, or for being happy in it, are questions that have been totally overlook-

was inconsolable, and forbore singing above a year. It recovered its spirits, and now chants as much as ever.

* Columella, treating of goats, observes that it is better to purchase an entire flock, than goats out of different flocks, that they may not divide into different parties, but feed cordially together.

ed by writers. And yet, as that branch of natural history is also necessary to my plan, I must proceed ; tho' I have nothing to lay before the reader but a few scattered observations, which occurred when I had no view of turning them to account. I begin with the instinctive conduct of animals, in providing against danger. When a flock of sheep in the state of nature goes to rest, sentinels are appointed ; who, on appearance of an enemy, stamp with the foot, and make a hissing sound ; upon which all take the alarm : if no enemy appear, they watch their time, return to the flock, and send out others in their stead. In flocks that have an extensive range in hilly countries, the same discipline obtains, even after domestication. Tho' monkeys sleep upon trees, yet a sentinel is always appointed ; who must not sleep under pain of being torn to pieces. They preserve the same discipline when they rob an orchard : a sentinel on a high tree is watchful to announce the very first appearance of an enemy. M. Buffon, talking of a sort of monkey, which he terms *Malbrouck*, says, that they are fond of fruit, and of sugar-canæ ; and that while

while they are loading themselves, one is placed sentinel on a tree, who, upon the approach of a man, cries, *Houp! Houp! Houp!* loudly and distinctly. That moment they throw away the sugar-canæs that they hold in their left hand, and run off upon that hand with their two feet. When marmouts are at work in the field, one is appointed to watch on a high rock; which advertises them by a loud whistle, when it sees a man, an eagle, or a dog. Among beavers, notice is given of the approach of an enemy, by lashing the water with the tail, which is heard in every habitation. Seals always sleep on the beach; and to prevent surprise, sentinels are placed round at a considerable distance from the main body. Wild elephants, who always travel in company, are less on their guard in places unfrequented: but when they invade cultivated fields, they march in order, the eldest in the front, and the next in age closing the rear. The weak are placed in the centre, and the females carry their young on their trunks. They attack in a body; and upon a repulse, retire in a body. Tame elephants retain so much of their original nature, that if one, upon being

being wounded, turn its back, the rest instantly follow. Bell of Antrimony, in his journey through Siberia to Pekin, mentions wild horses that live in society, and are peculiarly watchful against danger. One is always stationed on an eminence, to give notice of an approaching enemy; and upon notice given, they all fly. Next in order is the government of a tribe, and the conduct of its members to each other. It is not unlikely, that society among some animals, and their mutual affection, may be so entire as to prevent all discord among them; which seems to be the case of beavers. Such a society, if there be such, requires no government, nor any laws. A flock of sheep occupies the same spot every night, and each hath its own resting-place. The same is observable in horned cattle when folded. And as we find not, that any one ever attempts to dislodge another, it is probable that such restraint makes a branch of their nature. But society among brute animals is not always so perfect. Perverse inclinations, tending to disturb society, are visible among some brute animals, as well as among rational men. It is not uncom-

mon for a rook to pilfer sticks from another's nest ; and the pilferer's nest is demolished by the *lex talionis*. Herons have the same sort of government with rooks in preserving their nests. They are singular in one particular, that there is no society among them but in hatching their young. They live together during that time, and do not separate till their young can provide for themselves. Perverse inclinations require government, and government requires laws. As in the cases now mentioned, the whole society join in inflicting the punishment, government among rooks and herons appears to be republican. Apes, on the contrary, are under monarchical government. Apes in Siam go in troops, each under a leader, who preserves strict discipline. A female, carnally inclined, retired from the troop, and was followed by a male. The male escaped from the leader, who pursued them ; but the female was brought back, and in presence of the whole troop received fifty blows on the cheek, as a chastisement for its incontinence (a). But probably, there are not many instances among brutes, of

(a) Memoirs of Count Forbin.

government approaching so near to that of men. Government among horned cattle, appears to have no other end but to preserve order. Their government is monarchical ; and the election is founded upon personal valour, the most solid of all qualifications in such a society. The bull who aspires to be lord of the herd, must fight his way to preferment ; and after all his rivals are beat off the field, the herd tamely submit. At the same time, he is not secured in the throne for life ; but must again enter the lists with any bull that ventures to challenge him. The same spirit is observable among oxen, in a lower degree. The master-ox leads the rest into the stable, or into the fold, and becomes unruly if he be not let first out : nay, he must be first yoked in the plough or wagon. Sheep are not employ'd in work ; but in every other respect the same economy obtains among them. Where the rams happen to be few in proportion to the other sheep, they sometimes divide the flock among them, instead of fighting for precedence. Five or six score of sheep, two of them rams, were purchased a few years ago by the author of this work. The

two rams divided the flock between them. The two flocks pastured in common ; being shut up in one inclosure : but they had different spots for rest during night ; nor was it known, that a sheep ever deserted its party, or even changed its resting-place. In the two species last mentioned, I find not that there is any notion of punishment ; nor does it appear to be necessary : the leader pretends to nothing but precedence, which is never disputed. Every species of animals have a few notes by which the individuals communicate their desires and wants to each other. If a cow or a calf give the voice of distress, every beast of the kind runs to give help. If a stranger utter the voice of defiance, many advance for battle. If he yield, he obtains a certain rank in the herd. If a colony of rooks be suffered to make a settlement in a grove of trees, it is difficult to dislodge them. But if once dislodged, they never return, at least for many years ; and yet numbers must have been procreated after banishment. How is this otherways to be accounted for but that rooks have some faculty of conveying instruction to their young.

In some animals love of liberty is the ruling passion : some are easily trained, and submit readily without opposition Examples of the latter are common : of the former take the following instance. A brood of stonechatters taken from the nest, were inclosed in a cage. The door was left open to give admission to the mother, and then was shut upon her. After many attempts, finding it impossible to get free, she first put her young to death ; and then dashed out her own brains on the side of the cage. I blush to present these imperfect hints, the fruit of casual observation, not of intentional enquiry : but I am fond to blow the trumpet, in order to raise curiosity in others : if the subject be prosecuted by men of taste and enquiry, many final causes, I am persuaded will be discovered, tending more and more to display the wisdom and goodness of Providence. But what at present I have chiefly in view, is to observe, that government among brute animals, however simple, appears to be perfect in its kind ; and adapted with great propriety to their nature. Factions in the state are unknown : no enmity between individuals, no treachery,

no deceit, nor any other of those horrid vices that torment the human race. In a word, they appear to be perfectly well qualified for that kind of society to which they are prompted by their nature; and well fitted for being happy in it.

Storing up the foregoing observations till there be occasion for them, we proceed to the social nature of man. That men are endued with an appetite for society, will be vouched by the concurring testimony of all men, each vouching for himself. There is accordingly no instance of people living in a solitary state, where the appetite is not obstructed by some potent obstacle. The inhabitants of that part of New Holland which Dampier saw, live in society, tho' less advanced above brutes than any other known savages; and so intimate is their society, that they gather their food, and eat, in common. The inhabitants of the Canary islands lived in the same manner, when first seen by Europeans, which was in the fourteenth century; and the savages mentioned by Condamine, drawn by a Jesuit from the woods to settle on the banks of the Oroonoko, must originally have been united in some kind

kind of society, as they had a common language. In a word, that man hath an appetite for food, is not more certain, than that he hath an appetite for society. And here I have occasion to apply one of the observations made above. Abstracting altogether from the pleasure we have in society, similar to what we have in eating; evident it is, that to no animal is society more necessary than to man, whether for food or for defence. In society, he is chief of the terrestrial creation; in a solitary state, the most helpless and forlorn. Thus the first question suggested above, viz. To what end was a social appetite bestow'd on man, has received an answer, which I flatter myself will be satisfactory.

The next question is, Whether the appetite embrace the whole species, or be limited, as among other animals, to a society of moderate extent. That the appetite is limited, will be evident from history. Men, as far back as they can be traced, have been divided into small tribes or societies. Most of these, it is true, have in later times been united into large states: such revolutions however have been brought about, not by an appetite for a

more

more extensive society, but by conquest, or by the junction of small tribes for defence against the more powerful. A society may indeed be too small for complete gratification of the appetite ; and the appetite thus cramped welcomes every person into the society till it have sufficient scope : the Romans, a diminutive tribe originally, were fond to associate even with their enemies after a victory. But, on the other hand, a society may be too large for perfect gratification. An extensive empire is an object too bulky : national affection is too much diffused ; and the mind is not at ease till it find a more contracted society, corresponding to the moderation of its appetite. Hence the numerous orders, associations, fraternities, and divisions, that spring up in every great state. The ever-during Blues and Greens in the Roman empire, and Guelphs and Gibelins in Italy, could not have long subsisted after the cause of their enmity was at an end, but for a tendency in the members of a great state to contract their social connections *. Initiations among

* The never-ceasing factions in Britain proceed, not

mong the ancients were probably owing to the same cause; as also associations of artisans among the moderns, pretending mystery and secrecy, and excluding all strangers. Of such associations or brotherhoods, the free masons excepted, there is scarce now a vestige remaining.

We find now, after an accurate scrutiny, that the social appetite in man comprehends not the whole species, but a part only; and commonly a small part, precisely as among other animals. Here another final cause starts up, no less remarkable than that explain'd above. An appetite to associate with the whole species, would form states so unwieldy by numbers, as to be incapable of any government. Our appetite is wisely confined within such limits as to form states of moderate extent, which of all are the best fitted for good government: and, as we shall see afterward, are also the best fitted for improving the human powers, and for enlivening every manly virtue. Hence an instructive lesson, That a great not from a society too much extended, but from love of power or of wealth, to restrain which there is no sufficient authority in a free government.

empire is ill suited to human nature; and that a great conqueror is in more respects than one an enemy to mankind.

The limiting our social appetite within moderate bounds, suggests another final cause. An appetite to associate with the whole species, would collect into one society all who are not separated from each other by wide seas and inaccessible mountains; and consequently would distribute mankind into a very few societies, consisting of such multitudes as to reduce national affection to a mere shadow. Nature hath wisely limited the appetite in proportion to our mental capacity. Our relations, our friends, and our other connections, open an extensive field for the exercise of affection: nay, our country in general, if not too extensive, would alone be sufficient to engross our affection. But that beautiful speculation falls more properly under the principles of morality; and there it shall not be overlooked.

What comes next in order, is to examine how we stand affected to those who are not of our tribe or society. I pave the way to this examination, by taking up man naked at his entrance into life. An infant

infant at first has no feeling but bodily pain ; and it is familiarized with its nurse, its parents, and perhaps with others, before it is susceptible of any passion. All weak animals are endowed with a principle of fear, which prompts them to shun danger ; and fear, the first passion discovered in an infant, is raised by every new face : the infant shrinks and hides itself in the bosom of its nurse * (a). Thus every stranger is an object of fear to an infant ; and consequently of aversion, which is generated by fear. Fear lessens gradually as our circle of acquaintance enlarges, especially in those who rely on bodily strength. Nothing tends more effectually to dissipate fear, than consciousness of security in the social state : in solitude, no animal is more timid than man ; in society, none more bold. But remark, that aversion may subsist after fear is gone : it is propagated from people to their children through an

* In this respect the human race differs widely from that of dogs : a puppy, the first time it sees a man, runs to him, licks his hand, and plays about his feet.

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. i. p. 441. edit. 5.

endless succession ; and is infectious like a disease. Thus enmity is kept up between tribes, without any particular cause. A neighbouring tribe, constantly in our sight, and able to hurt us, is the object of our strongest aversion : aversion lessens in proportion to distance ; and terminates in absolute indifference with respect to very distant tribes.

One would naturally imagine, that, after fear has vanished, aversion to strangers cannot long subsist. But it is supported by a principle, that we are not at liberty to deny, because it frequently breaks forth even in childhood, without any provocation ; and that is a principle of malevolence, distributed indeed in very unequal portions. Observe the harsh usage that tame birds receive from children, without any apparent cause ; the neck twisted about, feathers plucked off, the eye thrust out with a bodkin ; a baby thrown out at a window, or torn in pieces. There is nothing more common, than flat stones that cover the parapets of a bridge thrown down, the head of a young tree cut off, or an old tree barked. This odious principle is carefully disguised after the first

dawn

dawn of reason ; and is indulged only against enemies, because there it appears innocent. I am utterly at a loss to account for the following fact, but from the principle now mentioned. The Count de Lauzun was shut up by Louis XIV. in the castle of Pignerol, and was confined there from the year 1672 to the year 1681, deprived of every comfort of life, and even of paper, pen, and ink. At a distance from every friend and relation ; without light except a glimmering thro' a slit in the roof ; without books, occupation, or exercise ; a prey to hope deferred and constant horror ; he, to avoid insanity, had recourse to tame a spider. The spider received flies from his hand with seeming gratitude, carried on his web with alacrity, and engaged the whole attention of the prisoner. This most innocent of all amusements was discovered by the jailer, who, in the wantonness of power, destroy'd the spider and its work. The Count described his agony to be little inferior to that of a fond mother at the loss of a darling child. Custom may render a person insensible to scenes of misery ; but cannot provoke cruelty without a motive.

A jailer differs only from other men, in freedom to indulge malignity against his prisoners without fear of retaliation.

As I neither hope nor wish, that the nature of man, as above delineated, be taken upon my authority, I propose to verify it by clear and substantial facts. But to avoid the multiplying instances unnecessarily, I shall confine myself to such as concern the aversion that neighbouring tribes have to each other ; taking it for granted, that private affection and love to our country, are what no person doubts of. I begin with examples of rude nations, where nature is left to itself, without culture. The inhabitants of Greenland, good-natured and inoffensive, have not even words for expressing anger or envy : stealing from one another is abhorred ; and a young woman guilty of that crime, has no chance for a husband. At the same time, they are faithless and cruel to those who come among them : they consider the rest of mankind as a different race, with whom they reject all society. The morality of the inhabitants of New Zealand is not more refined. Writers differ about the inhabitants of the Marian or Ladrone

Ladrone islands ; Magellan, and other voyagers, say, that they are addicted to thieving ; and their testimony occasioned these islands to be called *Ladrones*. Pere le Gobien, on the contrary, says, that, far from being addicted to thieving, they leave every thing open, haying no distrust one of another. These accounts differ in appearance, not in reality. Magellan was a stranger ; and he talks only of their stealing from him and from his companions. Father Gobien lived long among them, and talks of their fidelity to each other. Plan Carpin, who visited Tartary in the year 1246, observes of the Tartars, that, tho' full of veracity to their neighbours, they thought themselves not bound to speak truth to strangers. The Greeks anciently were held to be pirates : but not properly ; for they committed depredations upon strangers only. Cæsar, speaking of the Germans (*a*), says, “ *Latrocini
nia nullam habent infamiam quæ ex
tra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt* *.”

* “ They hold it not infamous to rob without the bounds of their canton.”

(*a*) Lib. 6. c. 23. de bello Gallico.

This was precisely the case of our highlanders, till they were brought under due subjection after the rebellion 1745. Bougainville observes, that the inhabitants of Otaheite, named by the English *King George's island*, made no difficulty of stealing from his people ; and yet never stole from one another, having neither locks nor bars in their houses. The people of Benin, in Negroland are good-natured, gentle, and civilized ; and so generous, that if they receive a present, they are not at ease till they return it double. They have unbounded confidence in their own people ; but are jealous of strangers, tho' they politely hide their jealousy. The different tribes of Negroes, speaking each a different language, have a rooted aversion at each other. This aversion is carried along with them to Jamaica ; and they will rather suffer death from the English, than join with those of a different tribe in a plot for liberty. Russian peasants think it a greater sin to eat meat in Lent, than to murder one of another country. Among the Koriacs, bordering on Kamtschatka, murder within the tribe is severely punished : but to murder a stranger

ger is not minded. While Rome continued a small state, neighbour and enemy were expressed by the same word (*a*). In England of old, a foreigner was not admitted to be a witness. Hence it is, that in ancient history, we read of wars without intermission among small states in close neighbourhood. It was so in Greece; it was so in Italy during the infancy of the Roman republic; it was so in Gaul, when Cæsar commenced hostilities against that country (*b*); and it was so all the world over. Many islands in the South sea, and in other remote parts, have been discovered by Europeans; who commonly found the natives with arms in their hands, resolute to prevent the strangers from landing. Orellana, lieutenant to Gonzales Pifarro, was the first European who sailed down the river Amazon to the sea. In his passage, he was continually assaulted by the natives with arrows from the banks of the river: and some even ventured to attack him in their canoes.

Nor does such aversion wear away even

(*a*) *Hostis.*

(*b*) Lib. 6, c. 15, *de bello Gallico.*

among

among polished people. An ingenious writer (*a*) remarks, that almost every nation hate their neighbours, without knowing why. I once heard a Frenchman swear, says that writer, that he hated the English, *parce qu'ils versent du beurre fondu sur leur veau roti* *. The populace of Portugal have to this day an uncommon aversion to strangers: even those of Lisbon, tho' a trading town frequented by many different nations, must not be excepted. Travellers report, that the people of the duchy of Milan, remarkable for good-nature, are the only Italians who are not hated by their neighbours. The Piedmontese and Genoese have an aversion to each other, and agree only in their antipathy to the Tuscans. The Tuscans dislike the Venetians; and the Romans abound not with good-will to the Tuscans, Venetians, or Neapolitans. Very different is the case with respect to distant nations: instead of being objects of aversion, their manners,

* “ Because they pour melted butter upon their roast veal.”

(*a*) Baretti.

customs, and singularities, amuse us greatly *

Infants differ from each other in aversion to strangers; some being extremely shy, others less so; and the like difference is observable in whole tribes. The people of Milan cannot have any aversion to their neighbours, when they are such favourites of all around them. The inhabitants of some South-sea islands, mentioned above (a), appear to have little or no aversion to strangers. But that is a rare instance, and has scarce a parallel in any other part of the globe. It holds also true, that nations the most remarkable for patriotism, are equally remarkable for aversion to strangers. The Jews, the Greeks,

* Voltaire, (Universal History, ch. 40.), observing, rightly, that jealousy among petty princes is productive of more crimes than among great monarchs, gives a very unsatisfactory reason, " That having little force, they must employ fraud, poison, and other secret crimes;" not adverting, that power may be equally distributed among small princes as well as among great. It is antipathy that instigates such crimes, which is always the most violent among the nearest neighbours.

the Romans, were equally remarkable for both. Patriotism, a vigorous principle among the English, makes them extremely averse to naturalize foreigners. The inhabitants of New Zealand, both men and women, appear to be of a mild and gentle disposition : they treat one another with affection ; but are implacable to their enemies, and never give quarter. It is even customary among them to eat the flesh of their enemies. :

To a person of humanity, the scene here exhibited is far from being agreeable. Man, it may be thought, is of all animals the most barbarous ; for even animals of prey are innoxious with respect to their own kind *. Aversion to strangers makes

a

* “ Denique cætera animantia in suo genere pro-
“ be degunt : congregari videmus et stare contra
“ dissimilia : leonum feritas inter se non dimicat :
“ serpentum morsus non petit serpentes ; ne maris
“ quidem belluæ ac pisces, nisi in diversa genera,
“ sœviunt. At, Hercule, homini plurima ex ho-
“ mine sunt mala.” *Pliny, lib. 7. Proæmium.* [In
English thus : “ For other animals live at peace with
“ those of their species. They gather themselves
“ in troops, and unite against the common enemy.
“ The ferocious lion fights not against his species :
“ the poisonous serpent is harmless to his kind : the
“ monsters

a branch of our nature : it exists among individuals in private life : it flames high between neighbouring tribes ; and is visible even in infancy. Can such perversity of disposition promote any good end ? This question, which pierces deep into human nature, is reserved to close the present sketch.

From the foregoing deduction, universal benevolence, inculcated by several writers as a moral duty, is discovered to have no foundation in the nature of man. Our appetite for society is limited, and our duty must be limited in proportion. But of this more directly when the principles of morality are taken under consideration.

We are taught by the great Newton, that attraction and repulsion in matter, are, by alteration of circumstances, converted one into the other. This holds also in affection and aversion, which may be termed, not improperly, *mental attraction and repulsion*. Two nations, originally

" monsters of the sea prey but on those fishes that
" differ from them in nature : man alone of ani-
" mals is foe to man !"]

strangers to each other, may, by commerce or other favourable circumstance, become so well acquainted, as to change from aversion to affection. The opposite manners of a capital and of a country-town, afford a good illustration. In the latter, people, occupied with their domestic concerns, are in a manner strangers to each other : a degree of aversion prevails, which gives birth to envy and detraction. In the former, a court and public amusements, promote general acquaintance : repulsion yields to attraction, and people become fond to associate with their equals. The union of two tribes into one, is another circumstance that converts repulsion into attraction. Such conversion, however, is far from being instantaneous ; witness the different small states of Spain, which were not united in affection for many years after they were united under one monarch ; and this was also the case of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. In some circumstances the conversion is instantaneous ; as where a stranger becomes an object of pity or of gratitude. Many low persons in Britain contributed cheerfully for maintaining some

French

French seamen, made prisoners at the commencement of the late war. It is no less instantaneous, when strangers, relying on our humanity, trust themselves in our hands. Among the ancients, it was hospitality to strangers only, that produced mutual affection and gratitude : Glau-
cūs and Diomede were of different coun-
tries. Hospitality to strangers, is a preg-
nant symptom of improving manners.
Cæsar, speaking of the Germans (*a*), says,
“ Hospites violare, fas non putant: qui,
“ quaqua de causa, ad eos venerunt, ab
“ injuria prohibent, sanctosque habent;
“ iis omnium domus patent, victusque
“ communicatur *.” The ancient Spa-
niards were fond of war, and cruel to their
enemies; but in peace, they passed their
time in singing and dancing, and were re-
markably hospitable to the strangers who
came among them. It shews great refine-
ment in the Celtæ, that the killing a stran-
ger was capital, when the killing a citizen

* “ They hold it sacrilege to injure a stranger.
“ They protect from outrage, and venerate those
“ who come among them: their houses are open
“ to them, and they are welcome to their tables.”

(*a*) Lib. 6. c. 23. de bello Gallico.

was banishment only (*a*). The Circassians, described by Bell of Antrimony as barbarians, are hospitable. If even an enemy put himself under the protection of any of them, he is secure. The Swedes and Goths were eminently hospitable to strangers ; as indeed were all the northern nations of Europe (*b*). The negroes of Fouli, are celebrated by travellers for the same quality. The native Brazilians are singularly hospitable : a stranger no sooner arrives among them, than he is surrounded by women, who wash his feet, and set before him to eat the best things they have ; if he have occasion to go more than once to the same village, the person whose guest he was, takes it much amiss if he think of changing his lodging.

There are causes that for a time suspend enmity between neighbouring states. The small states of Greece, among whom war never ceased, frequently smothered their enmity to join against the formidable monarch of Persia. There are also causes that suspend for a time all animosity between factions in the same state. The fac-

(*a*) Nicolaus Damascenus.

(*b*) Sato Grammaticus. Crantz.

tions in Britain about power and pre-eminence, not a little disagreeable during peace, are laid asleep during a foreign war.

On the other hand, attraction is converted into repulsion by various causes. One is, the splitting a great monarchy into many small states ; of which the Assyrian, the Persian, the Roman, and the Saracen empires, are instances. The *amor patriæ*, faint in an extensive monarchy, readily yields to aversion, operating between two neighbouring states, less extensive. This is observable between neighbouring colonies, even of the same nation : the English colonies in North America, tho' they retain some affection for their mother-country, have contracted an aversion to each other. And happy for them is such aversion, if it prevent their uniting in order to acquire independence : wars without end would be the inevitable consequence, as among small states in close neighbourhood.

Hitherto the road has been smooth, without obstruction. But we have not yet finished our journey ; and the remaining questions, whether men be qualified

lified by their nature for being useful members of civil society, and whether they be fitted for being happy in it, will, I suspect, lead into a road neither smooth nor free from obstruction. The social branch of human nature would be wofully imperfect, if man had an appetite for society without being qualified for that state: the appetite, instead of tending to a good end, would be his bane. And yet, whether he be or be not qualified for society, seems doubtful. On the one hand, there are facts, many and various, from which it is natural to conclude, that man is qualified by nature for being an useful member of a social state, and for being happy in it. I instance first, several corresponding principles or propensities, that cannot be exerted nor gratified but in society, viz. the propensities of veracity, and of relying on human testimony; appetite for knowledge, and desire to communicate knowledge; anxiety to be pitied in distress, and sympathy with the distressed; appetite for praise, and inclination to praise the deserving *. Such corresponding

* Appetite for praise is inherent even in savages : witness

responding propensities, not only qualify men for the social state as far as their influence reaches, but attract them sweetly into society for the sake of gratification, and make them happy in it. But this is not all, nor indeed the greater part. Do not benevolence, compassion, magnanimity, heroism, and the whole train of social affections, demonstrate our fitness for society, and our happiness in it? And justice, above all other virtues, promotes peace and concord in that state. Nor ought the faculty of speech to be overlooked, which in an eminent degree qualifies man for society, and is a plentiful source of enjoyment in it.

I have reserved one other particular to be the concluding scene; being a striking instance of providential care to fit men for society. In reading a play or in seeing it acted, a young man of taste is at no loss to judge of scenes he never was engaged in, or of passions he never felt. What is

witness those of North America, who upon that account are fond of dress. I mean the men; for the women are such miserable slaves as to have no spirit for ornament.

it that directs his judgement? Men are apt to judge of others by what they have experienced in themselves: but here, by the supposition, there has been no antecedent experience. The fact is so familiar, that no one thinks of accounting for it. As young persons, without instruction or experience, can judge with tolerable accuracy of the conduct of men, of their various passions, of the difference of character, and of the efficacy of motives; the principle by which they judge must be internal: nature must be their guide, or, in other words, an internal sense. Nor is this sense confined to so low a purpose as criticism: it is a sense indispensable in the conduct of life. Every person is connected with many others, by various ties: if instruction and experience were necessary to regulate their conduct, what would become of them in the interim? Their ignorance would betray them into endless inconveniences. This sense has man for its object, not this or that man: by it we perceive what is common to all, not what distinguishes one individual from another. We have an intuitive conviction, not only that all men have passions and appetites which

which direct their actions ; but that each passion and appetite produceth uniformly effects proper to itself. This natural knowledge is our only guide, till we learn by experience to enter more minutely into particular characters. Of these we acquire knowledge from looks, gestures, speech, and behaviour, which discover to us what passes internally. Then it is, and no sooner, that we are fully qualified to act a proper part in society. Wonderful is the frame of man, both external and internal !

On the other hand, there are facts, not fewer in number, nor less various, from which it is equally natural to conclude, that man is ill qualified for society, and that there is little happiness in it. What can be more averse to concord in society than dissocial passions ? and yet these prevail among men ; among whom there is no end to envy, malice, revenge, treachery, deceit, avarice, ambition, &c. &c. We meet every where persons bent on the destruction of others, evincing that man has no enemies more formidable than of his own kind, and of his own tribe. Are not discord and feuds the chief articles in the history of every state, factions violent-

ly bent against each other, and frequently breaking out into civil wars? Appian's history of the civil wars of Rome exhibits a horrid scene of massacres, proscriptions, and forfeitures; the leaders sacrificing their firmest friends, for liberty to fuck the blood of their enemies; as if to shed human blood were the ruling passion of man. But the Romans were far from being singular: the polite Greeks, commonly so characterized, were still more brutal and bloody. The following passage is copied from a celebrated author (*a*). "Not
" to mention Dionysius the elder, who is
" computed to have butchered in cold
" blood above 10,000 of his fellow-citi-
" zens; nor Agathocles, Nabis, and o-
" thers, still more bloody than he; the
" transactions even in free governments
" were extremely violent and destructive.
" At Athens, the thirty tyrants, and the
" nobles, in a twelvemonth, murdered
" without trial about 1200 of the people,
" and banished above the half of the ci-
" tizens that remained. In Argos, near
" the same time, the people killed 1200

(*a*) *Essay of the populousness of ancient nations*, by David Hume, Esq;

" of

“ of the nobles, and afterward their own
“ demagogues, because they had refused
“ to carry their prosecutions farther.
“ The people also in Corcyra killed 1500
“ of the nobles, and banished 1000.
“ These numbers will appear the more
“ surprising, if we consider the extreme
“ smallness of those states. But all ancient
“ history is full of such instances.” Up-
on a revolution in the Saracen empire, *an-*
no 750, where the Ommiyan family was
expelled by that of the Abassians, Abdol-
lah, chief of the latter, published an act
of oblivion to the former, on condition of
their taking an oath of allegiance to him.
The Ommiyans, embracing the condition,
were in appearance cordially received.
But in preparing to take the oath, they
were knocked down, every one of them,
by the Emperor’s guards. And fully to
glut the monster’s cruelty, these princes,
still alive, were laid close together, and
covered with boards and carpets; upon
which Abdolah feasted his officers, “ in
“ order,” said he, “ that we may be ex-
“ hilarated with the dying groans of the
“ Ommiyans.” During the vigour of the
feudal system, when every gentleman was

a soldier, justice was no defence against power, nor humanity against bloody resentment. Stormy passions raged every where with unrelenting fury ; every place a chaos of confusion and distress. No man was secure but in his castle ; and to venture abroad unless well armed and well attended, would have been an act of high temerity. So little intercourse was there among the French in the tenth century, that an abbot of Clugni, invited by the Count of Paris to bring some monks to the abbey of St Maur, near that city, excused himself for declining a journey through a strange and unknown country. In the history of Scotland, during the minority of James II. we find nothing but barbarous and cruel manners, depredations, burning of houses, bloodshed and massacre without end. Pitscottie says, that oppression, theft, sacrilege, ravishing of women, were but a *dalliance*. How similar to beasts of prey let loose against each other in the Roman circus !

Men are prone to split into parties upon the slightest occasions ; and sometimes parties subsist upon words merely. Whig and Tory subsisted long in England, upon

no better foundation: the Tories professed passive obedience; but declared, that they would not be slaves: the Whigs professed resistance; but declared it unlawful to resist, unless to prevent the being made slaves. Had these parties been disposed to unite, they soon would have discovered, that they differed in words only. The same observation is applicable to many religious disputes. One sect maintains, that we are saved by faith alone; another, that good works are necessary. The difference lies merely in words: the first acknowledges, that if a man commit sin, he cannot have faith; and consequently under faith are comprehended good works: the other acknowledges, that good works imply good intention, or, in other words, faith; and consequently, under good works faith is comprehended (*a*). The following instance, solemnly ludicrous, is of parties formed merely from an inclination to differ, without any cause real or verbal. No people were less interested in the late war between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, than the ci-

(*a*) See Knox's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,
p. 13.

tizens of Ravenna. They however split into two parties, which abjured all society with each other. After the battle of Rosbach, a leading partyman withdrew for a month, without once showing his face in public. But our catalogue is not yet complete. Differences concerning civil matters, make no figure compared with what concern religion. It is lamentable to observe, that religious facts resemble neighbouring states ; the nearer they are to one another, the greater is their mutual rancour and animosity. But as all histories are full of the cruelty and desolation occasioned by differences in religious tenets, I cannot bear to dwell longer upon such horrid scenes.

What conclusion are we to draw from the foregoing facts, so inconsistent in appearance with each other ? I am utterly at a loss to reconcile them, otherwise than by holding man to be a compound of principles and passions, some social, some dis-social. Opposite principles or passions, cannot at the same instant be exerted upon the same object (*a*) ; but they may be exerted at the same instant upon different

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. i. p. 143. edit. 5.

objects, and at different times upon the same object. This observation serves indeed to explain a seeming inconsistency in our nature, as being at one time highly social, and at another time no less dissocial: but it affords not a solution to the questions, Whether, upon the whole, men be qualified for society, and be fitted for being happy in it. In order to a solution, we find it necessary to take a second view of the natural history of man.

In a nascent society, where men hunt and fish in common, where there is plenty of game, and where the sense of property is faint, mutual affection prevails, because there is no cause of discord; and dissocial passions find sufficient vent against neighbouring tribes. Such is the condition of the North-American savages, who continue hunters and fishers to this day; and such is the condition of all brute animals that live in society, as mentioned above. The island Otaheite is divided into many small cantons, having each a chief of its own. These cantons never make war on each other, tho' they are frequently at war with the inhabitants of neighbouring islands. The inhabitants of the new Phi-

Lippine islands, if Father Gobien be credited, are better fitted for society than any other known nation. Sweetness of temper and love to do good, form their character. They never commit acts of violence: war they have no notion of; and it is a proverb among them, That a man never puts a man to death. Plato places the seat of justice and of happiness among the first men; and among them existed the golden age, if it ever did exist. But when a nation, becoming populous, begins with rearing flocks and herds, proceeds to appropriate land, and is not satisfied without matters of luxury over and above; selfishness and pride gain ground, and become ruling and unruly passions. Causes of discord multiply, vent is given to avarice and resentment; and among a people not yet perfectly submissive to government, disocial passions rage, and threaten a total dissolution of society: nothing indeed suspends the impending blow, but the unwearyed, tho' silent, operation of the social appetite. Such was the condition of the Greeks at a certain period of their progress, as mentioned above; and such was the condition of Europe, and of

France

France in particular, during the anarchy of the feudal system, when all was discord, blood, and rapine. In general, where-ever avarice and disorderly passions bear rule, I boldly pronounce, that men are ill qualified for society.

Providence extracts order out of confusion. Men, in a society so uncomfortable, are taught by dire experience, that they must either renounce society, or qualify themselves for it — the choice is easy, but how difficult the performance! After infinite struggles, appetite for society prevailed; and time, that universal conqueror, perfected men in the art of subduing their passions, or of dissembling them. Finding no enjoyment but in society, they are solicitous about the good-will of others; and adhere to justice and good manners: disorderly passions are suppressed, kindly affections encouraged; and men now are better qualified for society than formerly, tho' far from being perfectly qualified.

But is our progress toward the perfection of society to stop here? are lust of power and of property to continue for ever leading principles? are envy, revenge, treachery, deceit, never to have an end?

" How devoutly to be wished, (it will be said), that all men were upright and honest ; and that all of the same nation were united like brethren in concord and mutual affection ! Here indeed would be perpetual sunshine, a golden age, a state approaching to that of good men made perfect in heavenly mansions." Beware of indulging such pleasing dreams. The system of Providence differs widely from our wishes ; and shall ignorant man venture to arraign Providence ? Are we qualified to judge of the whole, when but a small part is visible ? From what is known of that system, we have reason to believe, that were the whole visible, it would appear beautiful. We are not however reduced to an act of pure faith : a glimmering light, breaking in, makes it at least doubtful, whether upon the whole it be not really better for us to be as we are. Let us follow that glimmering light : it may perhaps lead us to some discovery.

I begin with observing, that tho' in our present condition we suffer much distress from selfish and dissocial passions, yet custom renders distresses familiar, and hardens

hardens us not only to bear but to brave them. Strict adherence to the rules of justice would indeed secure our persons and our property : robbery and murder would vanish, and locks and guns be heard of no more. So far excellent, were no new evils to come in their stead : but the void must be filled ; and mental distresses would break in of various kinds, such particularly as proceed from refined delicacy and nice sensibility of honour, little regarded while we are exposed to dangers more alarming. And whether the change would be much for our advantage, appears doubtful : pain as well as pleasure is measured by comparison ; and the slightest pain, such for example as arises from a transgression of civility or good-breeding, will overwhelm a person who has never felt any pain more severe. At any rate, natural evils would remain ; and extreme delicacy and softness of temper, produced by eternal peace and concord, would render such evils unsupportable : the slight inconveniences of a rough road, bad weather, or homely fare, would become serious evils, and afflict the traveller past enduring. The French, among whom so-

ciety has obtained a more refined polish than in any other nation, have become so soft and delicate as to lose all fortitude in distress. They cannot bear even a representation of severe affliction in a tragedy : an English audience would fall asleep at the flight distresses that make a deep impression in the French theatre.

But now, supposing that a society would be improved by a scrupulous adherence to the rules of morality ; yet to me it appears evident, that men would suffer more as individuals, than they would gain as members of society. In order to preserve justice untainted and to maintain concord and affection, dissocial and selfish passions must necessarily be extirpated, or brought under absolute subjection. Attend to the consequences : they deserve our most sober attention. Agitation is requisite to the mind as well as to the body : a man engaged in a brisk pursuit, whether of business or of pleasure, is in his element, and in high spirits : but when no object is in view to be attained or to be avoided, his spirits flag, and he sinks into languor and despondence. To prevent a condition so baneful, he is provided with many passions,

sions, that impel him to action without intermission, and enliven both mind and body. But upon the present supposition, scarce any motive to action would remain; and man, reduced to a lethargic state, would rival no being above an oyster or a sensitive plant.

Pater ipse colendi
 Haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
 Movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda,
 Nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.

VIRGIL. *Georg.* i.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that an uniform life of peace, tranquillity, and security, would not be long relished. Constant repetition of the same pleasures, would render even a golden age tasteless, like an Italian sky during a long summer. Nature has for wise purposes impressed upon us a taste for variety (*a*): without it, life would be altogether insipid. Paraguay, when governed by the Jesuits, affords a striking illustration. It was divided into parishes, in each of which a Jesuit presided as king, priest, and prophet. The natives were not suffered to have any property, but laboured incessant-

(*a*) *Elements of Criticism*, vol. i. p. 320 edit. 5.

ly for their daily bread, which was delivered to them out of a public magazine. The men were employ'd in agriculture, the women in spinning; and certain precise hours were allotted for labour, for food, for prayer, and for sleep *. They sunk into such a listless state of mind, as to have no regret at dying when attacked by disease or by old age. Such was their indifference about what might befall them, that tho' they adored the Jesuits, yet they made no opposition, when the fathers were, ann. 1767, attacked by the Spaniards, and their famous republic demolished. The monkish life is contradictory to the nature of man: the languor of that state is what in all probability tempts many a monk and nun, to find occupation even at the expence of virtue. The life of the

* Beside Paraguai tea, for which there is great demand in Peru, cotton, tobacco, and sugar-canæs, were cultivated in Paraguai, and the product was stored up in magazines. No Indian durst keep in his house so much as an ounce of any of these commodities, under pain of receiving twelve lashes in honour of the twelve apostles, beside fasting three days in the house of correction. The fathers seldom inflicted a capital punishment, because it deprived them of a profitable slave.

Maltese knights is far from being agreeable, now that their knight-errantry against the Turks has subsided. While they reside in the island, a strict uniformity in their manner of living is painfully irksome. Absence is their only relief, when they can obtain permission. There will not remain long a knight in the island, except such as by office are tied to attendance.

I proceed to another consideration. Familiarity with danger is necessary to eradicate our natural timidity ; and so deeply rooted is that principle, that familiarity with danger of one fort, does not harden us with respect to any other fort. A soldier, bold as a lion in the field, is faint-hearted at sea, like a child ; and a seaman, who braves the winds and waves, trembles when mounted on a horse of spirit. Courage does not superabound at present, even in the midst of dangers and unforeseen accidents : sedentary manufacturers, who seldom are in the way of harm, are remarkably pusillanimous. What would men be in the supposed condition of universal peace, concord, and security ? they would rival a hare or a mouse in timidity.

Farewell, upon that supposition, to courage, magnanimity, heroism, and to every passion that ennobles human nature! There may perhaps be men, who, hugging themselves in security against harm, would not be altogether averse to such degeneracy. But if such men there be, I pray them only to reflect, that in the progress from infancy to maturity, all nations do not ripen equally. One nation may have arrived at the supposed perfection of society, before another has advanced much beyond the savage state. What security hath the former against the latter? Precisely the same that timid sheep have against hungry wolves.

I shall finish with one other effect of the supposed perfection of society, more degrading, if possible, than any mentioned. Exercise, as observed above, is no less essential to the mind than to the body. The reasoning faculty, for example, without constant and varied exercise, will remain weak and undistinguishing to the end of life. By what means doth a man acquire prudence and foresight, but by experience? It is precisely here as in the body: deprive a child of motion, and it will never

ver acquire any strength of limbs. The many difficulties that men encounter, and their various objects of pursuit, rouse the understanding, and set the reasoning faculty at work for means to accomplish desire. The mind, by continual exercise, ripens to its perfection ; and, by the same means, is preserved in vigour. It would have no such exercise in the supposed perfection of society ; where there would be little to be desired, and less to be dreaded : our mental faculties would for ever lie dormant ; and we should for ever remain ignorant that we have such faculties. The people of Paraguai are described as mere children in understanding. What wonder, considering their condition under Jesuit government, without ambition, without property, without fear of want, and without desires ? The wants of those who inhabit the torrid zone are easily supplied : they need no clothing, scarce any habitation ; and fruits, which ripen there to perfection, give them food without labour. Need we any other cause for their inferiority of understanding, compared with the inhabitants of other climates, where the mind, as well as body, are con-

stantly at work for procuring necessities *?

This

* The blessings of ease and inaction are most poetically display'd in the following description. " O felix Lapo, qui in ultimo angulo mundi sic bene lates, contentus et innocens. Tu nec times annæ charitatem, nec Martis prælia, quæ ad tuas oras pervenire nequeunt, sed florentissimas Europæ provincias et urbes, unico momento, sæpe dejiciunt et delent. Tu dormis hic sub tua pelle, ab omnibus curis, contentionibus, rixis, liber, ignorans, quid sit invidia. Tu nulla nosti discrimina, nisi tonantis Jovis fulmina. Tu ducis innocentissimos tuos annos ultra centenarium numerum, cum facili senectute et summa sanitate. Te latent myriades morborum nobis Europæis communes. Tu vivis in sylvis, avis instar, nec fementem facis, nec metis; tamen alit te Deus optimus optime." *Linnæus, Flora Lapponica.*—

[In English thus : " O happy Laplander, who, on the utmost verge of habitable earth, thus livest obscure, in rest, content, and innocence. Thou fearest not the scanty crop, nor ravages of war; and those calamities which waste whole provinces and towns, can ne'er attain thy peaceful shores. Wrapt in thy covering of fur, thou canst securely sleep; a stranger to each tumultuous care; unenvying and unenvied. Thou fearest no danger, but from the thunder of heaven. Thy harmless days slide on in innocence, beyond the period of a century. Thy health is firm; and thy declining age is tranquil. Millions of diseases which

" ravage

This suggests a thought. Considering that instinct is a guide much less fallible than reason, why should it be more sparingly bestow'd on man, the chief of the terrestrial creation, than on other animals? Whatever appearance this may have at first sight against the human race, it will be found on consideration greatly in their favour. Instinct in man is confined within the narrowest bounds, and given only where reason would be ineffectual. Instinct, it is true, is infallible, and so are the laws of matter and motion: but how low is blind instinct compared with the faculty of reasoning, deliberating, and chusing? Man governs himself, and chuses invariably what appears the best: Brute animals have no self-government, but are led blindly by natural impulse, without

“ravage the rest of the world, have never reached
“thy happy climate. Thou livest as the birds of the
“wood, thou carest not to sow nor reap, for boun-
“teous Providence has supplied thee in all thy
“wants.” — So eloquent a panegyrist upon the
Lapland life, would make a capital figure upon an
oyster. No creature is freer from want, no crea-
ture freer from war, and probably no creature is
freer from fear; which, alas! is not the case of the
Laplander.

having

having any end in view. Instinct differs only from the laws of matter, by comprehending a greater variety of circumstances; and is far inferior in dignity to the faculty of reason.

That curious writer Mandevil, who is always entertaining if he does not always instruct, exults in maintaining a proposition seemingly paradoxical, That private vices are public benefits. He proves indeed, most triumphantly, that theft produced locks and bars, and that war produced swords and guns. But what would have been his triumph, had he discovered, that selfish and dissocial vices promote the most elevated virtues; and that if such vices were eradicated, man would be a grovelling and contemptible being?

How rashly do men judge of the conduct of Providence! So flattering to the imagination is a golden age, a life of perpetual sunshine, as to have enchanted poets, ancient and modern. Impressed with the felicity of such a state, can we be satisfied with our condition in this life? Such a jumble of good and ill, malice mixed with benevolence, friendship alloy'd with fraud, peace with alarms of war;

and,

and sometimes bloody wars,—is it not natural to think, that in this unhappy world chance prevails more than wisdom? Can freethinkers wish a better theme for declaiming against Providence, while good men sigh inwardly, and must be silent *?

But

* L'homme qui ne peut que par le nombre, qui n'est fort que par sa réunion, qui n'est heureux que par la paix, a la fureur de s'armer pour son malheur et de combattre pour sa ruine. Excité par l'insatiable avidité, aveuglé par l'ambition encore plus insatiable, il renonce aux sentiments d'humanité, cherche à s'entre-détruire, se détruit en effet; et après ces jours de sang et de carnage, lorsque la fumée de la gloire s'est dissipée, il voit d'un oeil triste la terre dévastée, les arts ensevelis, les nations dispersées, les peuples affoiblis, son propre bonheur ruiné, et sa puissance réelle anéantie. “ Grand Dieu ! dont la seule présence soutient la nature et maintient l'harmonie des loix de l'univers ; “ Vous, qui du trône immobile de l'empirée, voyez rouler sous vos pieds toutes les sphères célestes sans choc et sans confusion ; qui du sein du repos, reproduisez à chaque instant leurs mouvements immenses, et seul régissez dans une paix profonde ce nombre infini de cieux et de mondes ; “ rendez, rendez enfin le calme à la terre agitée ! “ Qu'elle soit dans le silence ! Qu'à votre voix la discorde et la guerre cessent de faire retenter leurs clamours orgueilleuses ! Dieu de bonté, auteur de tous les êtres, vos regards paternels embrassent tous

But behold the blindness of men with respect to the dispensations of Providence !

A

“ tous les objets de la création : mais l’homme est
 “ votre être de choix ; vous avez éclairé son ame
 “ d’une rayon de votre lumière immortelle ; com-
 “ blez vos bienfaits en pénétrant son cœur d’un
 “ trait de votre amour : ce sentiment divin se ré-
 “ pandant par-tout, réunira les natures ennemis ;
 “ l’homme ne craindra plus l’aspect de l’homme,
 “ le fer homicide n’armera plus sa main ; le feu
 “ dévorant de la guerre ne fera plus tarir la source
 “ des générations ; l’espèce humaine maintenant
 “ affoiblie, mutilée, moissonnée dans sa fleur, ger-
 “ mera de nouveau et se multipliera sans nombre ;
 “ la nature accablée sous le poids de fléaux, stérile,
 “ abandonnée, reprendra bientôt avec une nou-
 “ velle vie son ancienne fécondité ; et nous, Dieu
 “ Bienfaiteur, nous la seconderons, nous la culti-
 “ verons, nous l’observerons sans cesse pour vous
 “ offrir à chaque instant un nouveau tribut de re-
 “ connoissance et d’admiration.” *Buffon Histoire
Naturelle, vol. 9. 8vo edit.*

[In English thus : “ Man who is powerful only by numbers, whose strength consists in the union of forces, and whose happiness is to be found alone in a state of peace, has yet the madness to take arms for his own misery, and fight to the ruin of his species. Urged on by insatiable avarice, and blinded by ambition still more insatiable, he banishes from his breast every sentiment of humanity, and, eager for the destruction of his fellow-creatures, in effect destroys himself. When the days of blood and car-

A golden age would to man be more poisonous than Pandora's box ; a gift, sweet in the mouth, but bitter, bitter, in the stomach. Let us then forbear repining ; for the subject before us must afford conviction, if any thing can, that our best course is to submit humbly to whatever befals, and to rest satisfied, that the world is governed by wisdom, not by chance.

What

nage are past, when the vapour of glory is dissipated, he looks around with a sorrowful eye upon the desolated earth, he sees the arts extinct, the nations dispersed, and population dead : his happiness is ruined, and his power is reduced to nothing.

" Great God ! whose sole presence sustains the
" creative power, and rules the harmony of nature's
" laws ! who from thy permanent celestial throne
" beholdest the motion of the nether spheres, all-
" perfect in their course which knows no change ;
" who broughtest from out the womb of rest by
" endless reproduction those never-ceasing move-
" ments ; who rulest in peace the infinity of worlds ;
" Eternal God ! vouchsafe at length to send a por-
" tion of that heavenly peace to calm the agitated
" earth. Let every tumult cease : at thy celestial
" voice, no more be heard around the proud and
" clamorous shouts of war and discord. All-
" bounteous Creator ! Author of being ! each ob-
" ject of thy works partakes of thy paternal care ;
" but chief of all, thy chosen creature man. Thou

What can be expected of barbarians, but utter ignorance of Providence, and of divine government? But as men ripen in the knowledge of causes and effects, the benevolence as well as wisdom of a superintending Being become more and more apparent. How pleasing is that observation! Beautiful final causes without number have been discovered in the material

" hast bestowed on him a ray of thine immortal
 " light: O deign to crown that gift, by penetrating
 " his heart with a portion of thy love. Soon will
 " that heavenly sentiment, pervading his nature,
 " reconcile each warring and contradictory prin-
 " ciple: man will no longer dread the sight of
 " man: the murdering blade will sleep within its
 " sheath: the fire of war will cease to dry up the
 " springs of generation: the human race, now lan-
 " guishing and withering in the bloom, will bud a-
 " fresh, and multiply: nature, which now sinks
 " beneath the scourge of misery, sterile and deso-
 " lated, will soon renew her wasted strength, and
 " regain her first fertility. We, O God of bene-
 " volence, we thy creatures will second the blessing.
 " It will be ours to bestow on the earth that culture
 " which best can aid her fruitfulness; and we will
 " pay to thee the most acceptable of sacrifices, in
 " endless gratitude and adoration."

How natural is this prayer; how unnatural the state thus anxiously requested! M. Buffon's devotional fits are fervent: pity it is, that they are not better directed.

as well as moral world, with respect to many particulars that once appeared dark and gloomy. Many continue to have that appearance: but with respect to such, is it too bold to maintain, that an argument from ignorance, a slender argument at any rate, is altogether insufficient in judging of divine government? How salutary is it for man, and how comfortable, to rest on the faith, that whatever is, is the best!

E c 2 SKETCH

S K E T C H II.

General View of Government.

THE progress of government, accurately delineated, would produce a great volume: in the present work there is room but for a few hints. What are the qualities that fit men for society, is explained above; but writers are far from being unanimous about what fits them for government. All agree, that submission to our governors is a duty: but they appear to be at a loss upon what foundation to rest that duty; as if it were not evident, that by our nature we are fitted for government as well as for society (*a*). If justice or veracity be essential to society, submission to government is no less so; and each of these equally is declared by the moral sense to be our duty. But to qualify man for government, the duty of submission is not alone sufficient: diversity of temper and of talents are also

(*a*) *Principles of Equity*, p. 177. edit. 2.

necessary;

necessary ; and accordingly it is so ordered by Providence, that there are never wanting in any society, men who are qualified to lead, as well as men who are disposed to follow. Where a number of people convene for any purpose, some will naturally assume authority without the formality of election, and the rest will as naturally submit. A regular government founded on laws, was probably not thought of, till people had frequently suffered by vicious governors *.

During the infancy of national societies, government is extremely simple ; and no less mild than simple. No individual is by nature intitled to exercise magisterial authority over his fellows ; for no individual is born with any mark of

* At first, when a certain regimen was once approved, it may be that all was permitted to the wisdom and discretion of those who were to rule ; till by experience this was found very inconvenient, so as the thing devised for a remedy did increase the fore which it should have cured. They saw, “ that “ to live by one man’s will, became the cause of all “ mens misery.” This constrained them to come into laws, wherein all men might see their duty beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them. *Hooker’s Eccl. Pol.* I. 1. § 10.

pre-eminence to vouch that he has such a privilege. But nature teaches respect for men of age and experience: who accordingly take the lead in deliberating and advising, leaving execution to the young and vigorous *. War indeed cannot be carried on without a commander; but originally his authority was limited to actual war; and he returned home a private person, even when crowned with victory. The wants of men were originally so few and so easily satisfied, as seldom to occasion a controversy among members of the same tribe. And men, finding vent for their dissocial passions against other tribes, were fond to live peaceably at

* Such as are acquainted with no manners but what are modern, will be puzzled to account for the great veneration paid to old age in early times. Before writing was invented, old men were the repositories of knowledge, which they acquired by experience; and young men had no access to knowledge but from them. At the siege of Troy, Nestor, who had seen three generations, was the chief adviser and director of the Greeks. But as books are now the most patent road to knowledge, to which the old and young have access, it may justly be said, that by the invention of writing and printing, old men have lost much of their pristine importance.

home. Introduction of money made an amazing change. Wealth, bestow'd by fortune or procured by rapine, made an impression on the vulgar: different ranks were recognised: the rich became imperious, and the poor mutinous. Selfishness, prevailing over social affection, stirred up every man against his neighbour; and men, overlooking their natural enemies, gave vent to dissocial passions within their own tribe. It became necessary to strengthen the hands of the sovereign, for repressing passions inflamed by opulence, which tend to dissolution of society. This slight view fairly accounts for the gradual progress of government from the mildest form to the most despotic. The second part of the progress is more pleasing. Men long enured to the authority of government, acquire a habit of repressing their turbulent passions; and becoming by degrees regular and orderly, they are easily restrained from doing wrong.

In every nation originally democracy was the first form of government. Before ranks were distinguished, every single man was intitled to vote in matters of common concern. When a tribe becomes too numerous

merous for making one body or for being convened in one place, the management falls naturally to the elders of the people; who, after acquiring authority by custom, are termed the *senate*. At first, little more was thought of, but that to govern great numbers a senate is necessary: time unfolded the constitution of that body and its powers. With respect to the senate of old Rome in particular, even the mode of election was long ambulatory; and it is natural to believe that its powers were no less so; till length of time introduced regularity and order. From this form of government, the transition is easy to a limited monarchy. Absolute monarchy, contradictory to the liberty that all men should enjoy in every government, can never be established but by force. Government among all nations has made the progress above delineated. There are exceptions; but these have arisen from singular events.

To a nation accustomed to liberty and independence, arbitrary government is a sore disease. But awe and submission are also natural; and a life of dependence

probably

probably fits easy on those who are accustomed to it. Were it not so, providence would be unkind, as the far greater part of men are dependent.

During the infancy of a society, punishments must be mild ; because government has no sufficient authority over the minds of men to enforce what are severe. But government in time acquires authority ; and when its authority is firmly rooted in the minds of the people, punishments more rigorous can be made effectual ; and such punishments are necessary among a people not yet well disciplined. When men at last become regular and orderly under a steady administration, punishments become less and less necessary, and the mildest are sufficient (*a*). The Chinese government is extremely mild, and its punishments are in the same tone. A capital punishment is never inflicted, till the sentence be examined by a sovereign court, and approved by the Emperor. Thus government, after passing through all the intermediate degrees from extreme mildness to

(*a*) Historical Law-tracts, tract I.

extreme severity, returns at last to its original temper of mildness and humanity *.

* An ingenious writer observes, that as our American settlements are now so prosperous, banishment to these settlements is scarce a punishment. He therefore proposes, that criminals be transported to Hudson's bay, or to some other uncultivated country. My doubt is, that in proportion as manners improve, the severity of punishment ought to be mitigated. Perhaps, the transportation to any of our American colonies, tho' less dreadful than formerly, may however be now a sufficient punishment for theft, or other crime of no deeper dye.

SKETCH

S K E T C H III.

Different Forms of Government compared.

O F all governments, democracy is the most turbulent: despotism, which numbs the mental faculties and relaxes every spring of action, is in the opposite extreme. Mixed governments, whether monarchical or republican, stand in the middle: they promote activity, but seldom any dangerous excess.

Pure democracy, like that of Athens, Argos, and Carthage, is the very worst form of government, if we make not despotism an exception. The people, in whom resides the sovereign power, are insolent in prosperity, timid in adversity, cruel in anger, blind and prodigal in affection, and incapable of embracing steadily a prudent measure. Thucydides relates (*a*), that Agis with a gallant army of Spartans surrounded the army of Argos; and, tho' secure of victory, suffered them

(*a*) Lib. 5.

to retreat, upon solemn assurances from Thrasyllus, the Argian general, of terminating all differences in an amicable treaty. Agis, perhaps justly, was bitterly censured for suffering victory to slip out of his hands: but the Argians, dreaming of victory when the danger was over, brought their general to trial, confiscated his effects, and would have stoned him to death, had he not taken refuge in a temple. Two Athenian generals, after one naval victory being intent on a second, deputed Theramenes to perform the last duty to the dead. A violent storm prevented Theramenes from executing the trust reposed in him; but it did not prevent the people of Athens from putting their two generals to death, as if they had neglected their duty. The fate of Socrates, is a sad instance of the changeable, as well as violent, disposition of a democratical state. He was condemned to death, for attempting innovations in the established religion: the sentence was grossly unjust: he attempted no innovation; but only, among his friends, expressed purer notions of the Deity than were common in Greece at that time. But his funeral obsequies were

were scarce over, when bitter remorse seized the people. His accusers were put to death without trial, every person banished who had contributed to the sentence pronounced against him, and his statue was erected in the most public part of the city. The great Scipio, in his camp near Utica, was surrounded with three Carthaginian armies, which waited only for day-light to fall upon him. He prevented the impending blow, by surprising them in the dead of night; which gave him a complete victory. This misfortune, for it could scarce be called bad conduct, provoked the democracy of Carthage, to pronounce sentence of death against Asdrubal their general. Great trading towns cannot flourish, if they be not faithful to their engagements, and honest in their dealings: whence then the *fides Punica*? A democracy is in its nature rash, violent, and fluctuating; and the Carthaginians merited the reproach, not as individuals, but as a democratical state.

A commonwealth governed by chosen citizens, is very different from a democracy, where the mob rules. The solid foundation of such a commonwealth, is equality

equality among the citizens. Inequality of riches cannot be prevented in a commercial state ; but inequality of privileges may be prevented, by excluding no citizen from the opportunity of commanding as well as of obeying. The invidious distinction of Patrician and Plebeian was a gross malady in the Roman republic, a perpetual source of dissension between two bodies of men, equally well born, equally rich, and equally fit for war. This ill-poised government would have put an end to the republic, had not the Plebeians prevailed, who were the more numerous. That reformation produced to Rome plenty of able men, qualified to govern both in peace and in war.

A commonwealth is the best form of government for a small state : there is little room for inequality of rank or of property ; and the people can act in a body. Monarchy is preferable for a large state, where the people, widely spread, cannot be easily collected into a body. Attica was a kingdom, while its twelve cantons were remote from each other, and but slenderly connected. Theseus, by collecting the people of figure into the city of

of Athens, and by a general assembly of all the cantons held there, fitted Attica to be a commonwealth.

When a nation becomes great and populous, it is ill fitted for being a commonwealth: ambition is apt to trample upon justice, selfishness upon patriotism, and the public is sacrificed to private views. To prevent corruption from turning incurable, the only remedy is a strict rotation in office, which ought never to be dispensed with on any pretext *. By such rotation, every citizen in his turn governs and is governed: the highest office is limited as to time, and the greatest men in the state must submit to the sacred law of obeying as well as of commanding.. A man long accustomed to power, is not happy in a private station: that corrupting habit is prevented by an alternate succession of public and private life; which is more agreeable by variety, and contributes no less to virtue

* A commonwealth with such a rotation may be aptly compared to a group of jets d'eau, rising one above another in beautiful order, and preserving the same order in descending: the form of the group continues invariable, but the forming parts are always changing.

than to happiness. It was that form of government in ancient Rome, which produced citizens without number, illustrious for virtue and talents. Reflect upon Cincinnatus, eminent among heroes for disinterested love to his country. Had he been a Briton, a seat in parliament would have gratified his ambition, as affording the best opportunity of serving his country. In parliament he joins the party that appears the most zealous for the public. Being deceived in his friends, patriots in name only, he goes over to the court; and after fighting the battles of the ministry for years, he is compelled by a shattered fortune to accept a post or a pension: Fortunate Cincinnatus! born at a time and in a country where virtue was the passport to power and glory. Cincinnatus, after serving with honour and reputation as chief magistrate, cheerfully retired to a private station, in obedience to the laws of his country: nor was that change a hardship on a man who was not corrupted by a long habit of power. But wonderful was the change, when the republic by successful wars comprehended great kingdoms. Luxurious and sensual men, who

composed the senate, could not maintain their authority over generals who commanded great armies, and were illustrious by conquest. In the civil wars accordingly that were carried on after the death of Julius Cæsar, the legions called from Spain and other distant provinces to defend the senate, deserted all to Antony, or to Lepidus, or to Octavius Cæsar.

Political writers define a free state to be, where the people are governed by laws of their own making. This definition is lame; for laws made by the people are not always just. There were many unjust laws enacted in Athens during the democratical government; and in Britain instances are not wanting of laws, not only unjust, but oppressive. The true definition of a free state, is, where the laws of nature are strictly adhered to, and where every municipal regulation is contrived to improve society, and to promote honesty and industry. If that definition be just, despotism is the worst species of government; being contrived to support arbitrary will in the sovereign, without regarding the laws of nature, or the good of society. The lawless cruelty of a King of

Perſia, is painted to the life by a ſingle ex-
preſſion of a Perſian grandee, “ That eve-
“ ry time he left the King’s apartment,
“ he was inclined to feel with his hand
“ whether his head was on his ſhoulders.”
In the Ruſſian empire, men approach the
throne with terror: the lighteſt political
intrigue, is a ſufficient foundation for ba-
nishing the greateſt nobleman to Siberia,
and for conſiſcating his eſtate. The laws
of that empire ſmell no leſs rank of ſlavery
than of oppreſſion. No perſon dares game
with money that bears the impreſſion of
the preſent ſovereign: a man going along
the ſtreet that fronts the Emperor’s apart-
ment, muſt pull off his hat; and it is a
heinous treſpaſs, to write a letter with
the Emperor’s name in ſmall characters.
Despotiſm is every where the fame: it
was high treaſon to ſell a ſtatue of a Ro-
man Emperor; and it was doubted, whe-
ther it was not high treaſon, to hit an
Emperor’s ſtatue with a ſtone thrown at
random (*a*). When Elisabeth Empress of
Ruſſia was on deathbed, no perſon durſt
enquire about her; and even after her
death, it was not at firſt ſafe to ſpeak of

(*a*) l. 5. ad legem Julianam Majestatis.

it. The deep silence of the Russians upon matters of government, arises from the encouragement given to accusations of treason. The bystanders must lay hold of the person accused: a father arrests his son, a son his father, and nature suffers in silence. The accused with the accuser are hurried to prison, there to remain till they be tried in the secret court of chancery. That court, composed of a few ministers named by the Emperor, have the lives and fortunes of all at their mercy. The nobles, slaves to the crown, are prone to retaliate upon their inferiors. They impose taxes at pleasure upon their vassals, and frequently seize all at short hand *.

Servility

* The following incident is a striking example of the violence of passion, indulged in a despotic government, where men in power are under no control. Thomas Pereyra, a Portuguese general, having assisted the King of Pegu in a dangerous war with his neighbour of Siam, was a prime favourite at court, having elephants of state, and a guard of his own countrymen. One day coming from court mounted on an elephant, and hearing music in a house where a marriage was celebrating between a daughter of the family and her lover, he went into the house, and desired to see the bride. The parents took the visit for a great honour, and cheer-

Servility and depression of mind in the subjects of a despotic government, cannot be better marked than in the funeral rites of a Roman Emperor, described by Herodian (*a*). The body being burnt privately, a waxen image representing the Emperor is laid in a bed of state. On the one side sit the senators several hours daily, clothed in black; and on the other, the most respectable matrons, clothed in white. The ceremony lasts seven days, during which the physicians from time to time approach the bed, and declare the Emperor to be worse and worse. When the day comes of declaring him dead, the most dignified of the nobility carry the bed upon their shoulders, and place it in the old forum, where the Roman magistrates formerly laid down their office. Then begin doleful ditties, sung to his memory by boys and women. These being ended, the bed is carried to the *Campus Martius*, and there burnt upon a high stage with

fully presented her. He was instantly smit with her beauty, ordered his guards to seize her, and to carry her to his palace. The bridegroom, as little able to bear the affront as to revenge it, cut his own throat.

(*a*) Lib. 4.

great solemnity. When the flames ascend, an eagle is let loose, which is supposed to carry the soul of the Emperor to heaven. Is that farce less ridiculous than a puppet-shew? Is it not much more ridiculous? Dull must have been the spectator who could behold the solemnity without smiling at least, if not laughing outright; but the Romans were crushed by despotism, and nothing could provoke them to laugh. That ridiculous farce continued to be acted till the time of Constantine: how much later, I know not.

The finest countries have been depopulated by despotism; witness Greece, Egypt, and the Lesser Asia. The river Menam, in the kingdom of Siam, overflows annually like the Nile, depositing a quantity of slime, which proves a rich manure. The river seems to rise gradually as the rice grows; and retires to its channel when the rice, approaching to maturity, needs no longer to be watered. Nature beside has bestow'd on that rich country variety of delicious fruits, requiring scarce any culture. In such a paradise, would one imagine that the Siamites are a miserable people? The government is despotic,

spotic, and the subjects are slaves : they must work for their monarch six months every year, without wages, and even without receiving any food from him. What renders them still more miserable, is, that they have no protection either for their persons or their goods : the grandees are exposed to the rapacity of the King and his courtiers ; and the lower ranks are exposed to the rapacity of the grandees. When a man has the misfortune to possess a tree remarkable for good fruit, he is required in the name of the King, or of a courtier, to preserve the fruit for their use. Every proprietor of a garden in the neighbourhood of the capital, must pay a yearly sum to the keeper of the elephants ; otherwise it will be laid waste by these animals, whom it is high treason to molest. From the sea-port of Mergui to the capital, one travels ten or twelve days, through immense plains of a rich soil, finely watered. That country appears to have been formerly cultivated, but is now quite depopulated, and left to tigers and elephants. Formerly, an immense commerce was carried on in that fertile country : historians attest, that in the middle of the sixteenth century,

century, above a thousand foreign ships frequented its ports annually. But the King, tempted by so much riches, endeavoured to engross all the commerce of his country ; by which means he annihilated successively mines, manufactures, and even agriculture. The kingdom is depopulated, and few remain there but beggars. In the island Ceylon, the King is sole proprietor of the land ; and the people are supinely indolent : their huts are mean, without any thing like furniture : their food is fruit that grows spontaneously ; and their covering is a piece of coarse cloath, wrapped round the middle. The settlement of the Dutch East-India company at the Cape of Good Hope, is profitable to them in their commerce with the East Indies ; and it would be much more profitable, if they gave proper encouragement to the tenants and possessors of their lands. But these poor people are ruled with a rod of iron : the product of their land is extorted from them by the company at so low a price, as scarce to afford them common necessaries. Avarice, like many other irregular passions, obstructs its own gratification : were industry

stry duly encouraged, the product of the ground would be in greater plenty, and goods be afforded voluntarily at a lower price than they are at present obtained by violence. The Peruvians are a sad example of the effects of tyranny; being reduced to a state of stupid insensibility. No motive to action influences them; neither riches, nor luxury, nor ambition: they are even indifferent about life. The single pleasure they feel, is to get drunk, in order to forget their misery.

The provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia, situated between the 43d and 48th degrees of North latitude, are defended on three sides by the Niester, the Black sea, and the Danube. The climate of that region, and the fertility of its soil, render it not inferior to any other country in Europe. Its pastures in particular are excellent, producing admirable horses, with an incredible number of sheep and horned cattle; and corn, wine, oil, honey, and wax, were formerly produced there in great plenty. So populous was Walachia, in particular a few centuries ago, that its Prince was able to raise an army of seventy thousand men. Yet, notwithstanding

standing all these advantages, the wretched policy of the Turkish government has reduced these provinces to be almost a desert. A despotic government stifles in the birth all the bounties of nature, and renders the finest spots of the globe equally sterile with its barren mountains. When a patriotic king travels about to visit his dominions, he is received with acclamations of joy. A despotic prince dares not hope for such a reception: he is locked up in his seraglio, ignorant of what passes; and indolently suffers his people to be pillaged, without even hearing of their distresses. A despotic prince accordingly, whose wants are all supplied with profusion, and who has nothing left him to wish for or desire, carries on a most languid existence. Rousseau says well, “Tout “ Prince qui aspire au despotisme, aspire “ à l’honneur de mourir d’ennui. Dans “ tous les royaumes du monde cherchez-“ vous l’homme le plus ennuyé du pays? “ Allez toujours directement au souve-“ rain ; surtout s’il est très absolu. C’est “ bien la peine de faire tant de misérables! “ ne faudroit-il s’ennuyer à moindres “ fraix.”

At the same time, despotism, tho' calculated to elevate the sovereign above the rules of justice, and to make him the only free person in his dominions, tends above all other governments to render him insecure. He becomes odious by oppression ; and every hand would be raised against him, but for the restraint of fear. A situation so ticklish, lays him open to every bold spirit, prompted by revenge to seek his ruin, or by ambition to usurp his throne. In that respect, Russia and Turky are precisely similar : conspiracies against the sovereign are equally frequent, and equally successful. The moment an usurper seizes the palace, all prostrate themselves before him, without enquiring about his title. In that manner was the present Empress of Russia established, notwithstanding a very unfavourable circumstance, that of dethroning her own husband Peter III. No free spirit regrets such events in a despotic government : the only thing to be regretted is, that they concern the monarch only ; not the people, who remain abject slaves as formerly. The present Empress, sensible of her precarious situation, is intent to humanize her people,
and

and to moderate the despotism. In that view, she has published a code of laws fit for a limited monarchy; and expressing great regard to the lives, liberties, and property, of her subjects.

But a monarchy, with all the moderation that despotism can admit, is inconsistent with the liberty of the press. Political pamphlets, and even news-papers, are no less useful for instructing the King, than for securing his subjects. In France, the ministry are deprived of that means of acquiring knowledge; and are reduced to the necessity of trusting to insinuating men, who cunningly creep into favour, with a view to their own interest. After the late peace 1763, a plan was concerted for establishing a colony in Guiana; and no fewer than twelve thousand persons were landed there all at one time. But so grossly ignorant were that ministry of the preparations necessary for planting a colony in the torrid zone, that contagious diseases, occasioned by unwholesome food and want of accommodation, left not a single person alive. This could not have happened in England: every article of management would have been canvassed,

and light would have broken in from every quarter.

Government is essential to a society of any extent; and both are equally the work of nature. With a view to government, nature has fitted a small proportion for being leaders, and a great proportion for being led. The form of government accordingly that is the most consonant to nature, is that which allots to each their proper station. Democracy is contradictory to nature, because the whole people govern : despotism is not less so, because government rests in a single person. A republic or a limited monarchy is the best form ; because in these every man has an opportunity to act the part that nature destined him for.

I have insisted upon the deplorable effects of despotism, longer perhaps than is necessary ; but I was fond of the opportunity to justify, or rather applaud, the spirit of liberty so eminent in the inhabitants of Britain. I now proceed to compare different forms of government, with respect to various particulars ; beginning with patriotism. Every form of government must be good that inspires patriotism ;

tism ; and the best form to enliven that noble passion, is a commonwealth founded on rotation of power ; where it is the study of those in office, to do good, and to merit approbation from their fellow-citizens. In the Swiss Cantons, the salaries of magistrates and public officers, are scarce sufficient to defray their expences ; and those worthy persons desire no other recompence, but to be esteemed and honoured *. A republic so modelled, inspires virtues of every sort. The people of Switzerland seldom think of a writing to confirm a bargain : a law-suit is scarce known among them ; and many there are

* No human work can be everlasting. The seventy-two bailiages of the extensive canton of Bern, threaten ruin to the republic. These lucrative offices, which the great council appropriates to its own members, occasion a constant influx of riches into the capital. Patriotism is observed of late years to be on the decline among the citizens of Bern ; and no wonder, considering that luxury and selfishness are the never-failing offspring of opulence. When selfishness becomes the ruling passion of that people, those in power will pilfer the public treasure, which is immense, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the republic. Confusion and anarchy must ensue, and the state will settle in a monarchy, or more probably in an odious democracy.

who have never heard of an advocate nor of an attorney. Their doors are never shut but in winter. It is patriotism that Montesquieu has in view, when he pronounces virtue to be the leading principle in a republic. He has reason to term it so, because patriotism is connected with every social virtue ; and when it vanishes, every virtue vanishes with it *. Democracy will never be recommended by any enlightened politician, as a good form of government ; were it for no other reason but that patriotism cannot long subsist where the mob governs. In monarchy, the King is exalted so high above his sub-

* Industry and frugality may in some measure have the same effect with patriotism, where riches are gained by labour, not by inheritance. Manchester is one of the greatest manufacturing villages in England. Industry there flourishes, and with it frugality and honesty. It is remarkable, that its numerous inhabitants, amounting to above 40,000, are governed by a magistrate of no higher rank than a justice-of-peace constable ; and by his authority, small as it is, peace and good order are preserved. The best citizens are not unwilling to be constables ; and some are ambitious of the office. There are in England many other great manufacturing villages that are governed pretty much in the same manner.

jects, that his ministers are little better than servants. Such condition is not friendly to patriotism: it is as little friendly to ambition; for ministers are still servants, however much raised above other subjects. Wealth being the only remaining pursuit, promotes avarice to be their ruling passion. Now if patriotism be not found in ministers, who have power, far less in men who have no power; and thus in monarchy, riches are preferred before virtue, and every vicious offspring of avarice has free growth. The worst sort of monarchy is that which is elective; because patriotism can have no stable footing in such a state. The degeneracy of the Poles is owing to an elective monarchy. Every neighbouring state being interested in the election, money is the great engine that influences the choice. The electors being tempted by every motive of interest, lose sight of the public, and endeavour each of them to make the best bargain he can for his own advantage. This reasoning is verified by the late war of the Russians in Poland. Baron de Manstein, in his memoirs of Russia, says, that tho' the Poles were a match for the Saxons, yet
that

that seldom did three hundred Russians go a step out of their way to avoid three thousand Poles.

Without piercing to the foundation, one can have no just notion of the various forms that government assumes in different states. Monarchy is of many different kinds, and so is a republic. Rome and Carthage, the two great rival republics of ancient times, differed widely in their original constitution. Much has been said of these republics by historians and political writers. There is one point of comparison, that will set in a clear light the difference of their constitutions with respect to peace and war. Carthage, advantageously situated for commerce, became a great and flourishing trading town. The Carthaginians having no object but riches, admitted none into a participation of their privileges. War was against their genius: but they made war in order to load their new subjects with taxes. Rome, on the contrary, was ill situated for commerce: its inhabitants were from the beginning employ'd in war, either defensive or offensive. Their great object accordingly was power; to which end, they

were always disposed to adopt as citizens the best of those they conquered. Thus Rome became a city of warriors, Carthage of merchants. The subjects of the latter were always ripe for a revolt, while the subjects of the former were always faithful. Between two such states, there could be no equality in war; and had the Carthaginians been as skilful in politics as they were in commerce, they would have avoided, with the strictest circumspection, every occasion of difference with the Romans. Rome employ'd its own citizens in war: Carthage had none to employ but mercenaries. In an offensive war, the object of the latter was riches; that of the former was power and glory, motives much superior, and more animating. In a defensive war, the difference is infinite between mercenaries, who have no interest but to receive pay, and citizens, who fight for their country, and for their wives and children. What then are we to think of Hannibal, who carried on war against the Romans with an army of mercenaries, was successful in every engagement, and pushed them to the very brink of ruin? He certainly was the greatest

greatest General the world ever saw. If any one is to be excepted, it is the present King of Prussia *.

I next compare different forms of government, with respect to the influence of opulence. Riches, which joined with ambition produce bold attempts for power, are however not dangerous in monarchy, where the sovereign is so far superior, as to humble to the dust the most aspiring of his subjects. But riches joined with ambition are dangerous in a republic: ambition will suggest the possibility of sowing dissension among the leaders: riches will make the attempt successful; and then adieu to the republic. Wealth, accumulated by commerce in Carthage and in Athens, extinguished patriotism, and rendered their democracies unjust, violent,

* The following character of Hannibal is drawn by Titus Livius. “*Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia
vitia æquabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia
plusquam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus
Deura metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla reli-
gio.*” This betrays the cloven foot of gross prejudice. A man of such a character could never for so many years, without a single mutiny, have kept on foot a mercenary army composed of different nations.

and tyrannical. It had another bad effect; which was, to make them ambitious of conquest. The sage Plutarch charges Themistocles with the ruin of Athens. “ That “ great man,” says he, “ inspired his “ countrymen with desire of naval power. “ That power produced extensive com-“ merce, and consequently riches: riches “ again, beside luxury, inspired the Athe-“ nians with a high opinion of their “ power, and made them rashly engage in “ every quarrel among their neighbours.” Suppress the names, and one will believe it to be a censure on the conduct of Britain. Successful commerce prompted the Carthaginians, against their natural interest, to make war for gain. Had they been successful against the Romans, both nations must have fallen a sacrifice to the ambition of Hannibal: what Carthaginian durst have opposed that glorious conqueror, returning with a victorious army, devoted to his will? That event was long dreaded by Hanno and the wiser part of the Carthaginian senate; and hence their scanty supplies to Hannibal. But what is only a supposition with respect to Carthage, proved to be the fate of Rome. In-

equality of rank, opulence, and luxury, relaxed every principle of the commonwealth, particularly rotation of power, which ought to have been their palladium. Conquest at a distance led them unwarily, in some instances, to suspend that fundamental law ; of which Cæsar availed himself in his Gallic war, by debauching from their duty the best disciplined army of the republic : and it was that army, under a leader little inferior to Hannibal, which determined the fate of Rome.

A state with a small territory, such as Hamburg or Holland, may subsist long as a commonwealth, without much hazard from the opulence of individuals. But an extensive territory in the hands of a few opulent proprietors, is dangerous in a commonwealth ; because of their influence over numbers who depend on them for bread. The island of Britain is too large for a commonwealth. This did not escape a profound political writer (*a*), who is an honour to his country ; and to remedy the evil, he proposes an Agrarian law. But fondness for a system of his own invention, made him overlook a defect in it, that

(*a*) Harrington.

would

would not have escaped him had it been the invention of another ; which is, that accumulation of land can never be prevented by an Agrarian law : a trust-deed is a ready screen for covering accumulation beyond law : and dark transactions are carried on without end ; similar to what is practised, most dishonestly, by those who elect and are elected members of parliament. When such comes to be the condition of land-property, an Agrarian law will be ripe for dissolution.

In early times, greater variety of character is seen than at present ; among sovereigns especially, who are not taught to govern their passions. Perusing the history of Spain in particular, one is struck with an amazing variety of character in the Moorish Kings. In some of them, outrageous cruelty ; in others, mildness and affection for their people : in some, unbounded ambition surmounting every obstacle of justice and humanity ; in others, strict attention to commerce and to every moral virtue ; some heaping up treasure ; some squandering all upon voluptuousness ; some cultivating peace ; some fond of war. During the nonage of society,

society, men exert their natural bias without reserve: in the progress of society, they are taught to moderate their turbulent passions: at last mild and courtly behaviour, produced by education and imitation, give an air to men of figure as if they were all copies from one original; which is peculiarly the case in France. The mildness of external behaviour, must have a considerable influence on the internal part; for nothing tends more to soften or to suppress a passion, than never to give it vent: for which reason, absolute monarchy in France is far from being so dreadful as it was formerly: it is at present far from being violent or sanguinary; the manners of the people having the same influence there, that laws have in a free country. The King, delicate with respect to his conduct and dreading the censure of the world, is guilty of few excesses; and the people, tame and submissive, are easily kept in order. To be discharged the court for any misdemeanour, or to be relegated to his country-seat, is to a gentleman of rank more terrible than a capital punishment.

We finish this short essay with a compari-

son

rison of different governments as to the execution of laws. Laws relative to property and pecuniary interest, are every where preserved in vigour, because the violation of them hurts many. Laws respecting the public, are kept alive in a monarchical government ; because the King, to whom execution of law is intrusted, seldom benefits by their transgression. For a steady execution of such laws, a democracy has nothing to rely on but patriotism ; and when that subsides, such laws fall asleep. The reason is, that the powers both of legislation and execution center in the people ; and a multitude, frequently no better than a mob, will never with constancy direct execution against themselves.

S K E T C H IV.

Progress of States from small to great, and from great to small.

When tribes, originally small, spread wider and wider by population till they become neighbours, the slightest differences enflame mutual aversion, and instigate hostilities that never end. Weak tribes unite for defence against the powerful, and become insensibly one people: other tribes are swallow'd up by conquest. And thus states become more and more extensive, till they be confined by natural boundaries of seas or mountains. Spain originally contained many small states, which were all brought under the Roman yoke. In later times, it was again possessed by many states, Christian and Mahometan, continually at war, till by conquest they were united in one great kingdom. Portugal still maintains its independency, a blessing it owes to the weakness of Spain, not to advantage of situa-

tion. The small states of Italy were subdued by the Romans ; and those of Greece by Philip of Macedon, and his son Alexander. Scotland escaped narrowly the fangs of Edward I. of England ; and would at last have been conquered by its more potent neighbour, had not conquest been prevented by a federal union.

But at that rate, have we not reason to dread the union of all nations under one universal monarch ? There are several causes that for ever will prevent a calamity so dreadful. The local situation of some countries, defended by strong natural barriers, is one of these. Britain is defended by the sea ; and so is Spain, except where divided from France by the Pyrenean mountains. Europe in general, by many barriers of seas, rivers, and mountains, is fitted for states of moderate extent : not so Asia, which being divided by nature into very large portions, is prepared for extensive monarchies *. Russia is the only exception

* En Asie on a toujours vu de grands empires ; en Europe ils n'ont jamais pu subsister. C'est que l'Asie que nous connoissons a de plus grandes plaines : elle est coupée en plus grands morceaux par les

ception in Europe ; a weak kingdom by situation, tho' rendered formidable by the extraordinary talents of one man, and of more women than one.

A second cause is the weakness of a great state. The strength of a state doth not increase with its bulk, more than that of a man. An overgrown empire, far from being formidable to its neighbours, falls to pieces by its weight and unwieldiness. Its frontiers are not easily guarded : witness France, which is much weakened by that circumstance, tho' its greater part is bounded by the sea. Patriotism vanishes in a great monarchy : the provinces have no mutual connection : and the distant

montagnes et les mers ; et comme elle est plus au midi, les sources y sont plus aisement taries, les montagnes y sont moins couvertes des nieges, et les fleuves, moins grossis, y forment des moindres barrières. *L'Esprit des Loix, liv. 17. c. 6.* — [In English thus : “ In Asia there have always been great empires : such could never subsist in Europe. The reason is, that in Asia there are larger plains, and it is cut by mountains and seas into more extensive divisions : as it lies more to the south, its springs are more easily dried up, the mountains are less covered with snow, and the rivers proportionally smaller, form less considerable barriers.”]

provinces,

provinces, which must be governed by bashaws, are always ripe for a revolt. To secure Nicomedia, which had frequently suffered by fire, Pliny suggested to the Emperor Trajan, a fire-company of one hundred and fifty men.. So infirm at that period was the Roman empire, that Trajan durst not put the project in execution, fearing disturbances even from that small body.

The chief cause is the luxury and effeminacy of a great monarchy, which leave no appetite for war, either in the sovereign or in his subjects. Great inequality of rank in an extensive kingdom, occasioned by a constant flow of riches into the capital, introduces show, expensive living, luxury, and sensuality. Riches, by affording gratification to every sensual appetite, become an idol to which all men bow the knee ; and when riches are worshipped as a passport to power as well as to pleasure, they corrupt the heart, eradicate every virtue, and foster every vice. In such dissolution of manners, contradictions are reconciled : avarice and meanness unite with vanity ; dissimulation and cunning, with splendor. Where subjects are so cor-

K k 2 rupted,

rupted, what will the prince be, who is not taught to moderate his passions, who measures justice by appetite, and who is debilitated by corporeal pleasures? Such a prince never thinks of heading his own troops, nor of extending his dominions. Mostazen, the last Califf of Bagdat, is a conspicuous instance of the degeneracy described. His kingdom being invaded by the Tartars in the year 1258, he shut himself up in his seraglio with his debauched companions, as in profound peace; and, stupified with sloth and voluptuousness, was the only person who appeared careless about the fate of his empire. A King of Persia, being informed that the Turks had made themselves masters of his best provinces, answered, that he was indifferent about their success, provided they would not disturb him in his city of Ispahan. Hoatsang, the last Chinese Emperor of the Chinese race, hid himself in his palace, while the Tartars were wresting from him his northern provinces, and Listching, a rebel mandarine, was wresting from him the remainder. The Empress strangled herself in her apartment; and the Emperor, making a last effort, followed her example.

ample. The ninth Chinese Emperor of the blood of Genhizcan, addicted to women and priests, was despised by his people. A person without a name, who had been a servant in a convent of Bonzes, putting himself at the head of some robbers, dethroned the monarch, and extinguished the royal family.

The Tonquinese, after a long subjection to the Emperor of China, regained their independence, and were governed by kings of their own nation. These princes having by long peace become indolent, luxurious, and effeminate, abandoned the government to their ministers. The governor of Cochinchina, being at a great distance from the capital, revolted first, and that country became a separate kindom. The governor of Tonquin, in which province the King resided, usurped the sovereignty: but respecting the royal family, he only locked up the King in his palace; leaving to the King's descendants the name of *Bova*, or King, with some shadow of royalty. The usurper and his successors content themselves with the title of *Chova*, or Generalissimo; which satisfies the people, who pierce no deeper than what eyesight discovers.

discovers. A revolution of the same kind happened in Japan. Similar causes produce similar effects. The luxurious and indolent successors of Charlemagne in the kingdom of France, trusting their power and authority with the mairs of their palace, were never seen in public, and were seldom heard of. The great power of these officers, inflamed them with an appetite for more. Pepin and his successors were for a long time kings *de facto*, leaving to the rightful sovereign nothing but the empty name. Charles Martel reigned for some time without even naming a king. And at last Pepin the younger, ann. 751, throwing off the mask, ordered himself to be proclaimed King of France.

Busbequius, who wrote in the days of Philip II. of Spain, has the following observation. “Comparing the Turkish soldiers with ours, I can prognosticate nothing good to Christendom. On their side, a mighty empire, great armies, experience in war, a long series of victories, a veteran soldiery, concord, order, discipline, frugality, vigilance, and patience of labour. On our side, public want, private luxury, contempt of discipline,

" discipline, impatience of labour, drunkenness, and gluttony. Can any one doubt what the event will be? For preventing ruin, we have nothing to depend on but the Persians." How plausible is this reasoning; and yet how false the prognostic! At that early time, the science of politics was but in its infancy in Europe. Busbequius did not discover, nor did any other man discover, a seed of corruption in the Turkish government that in time ripened to its ruin; and that is wealth and luxury in a despotic monarchy. The monarch is sunk in voluptuousness: licentiousness creeps in among the soldiery, and the government becomes entirely military. This progress is far advanced among the Turks; and their troops at present make no figure but by numbers. Our troops on the contrary, from perpetual wars among Christian Princes, have acquired the perfection of discipline.

Montesquieu, discoursing of luxury in great empires, and effeminacy in the monarchs, describes the danger of revolutions, from ambitious men bred to war, in the following words. "En effet il é-

"toit

“ toit naturel que des Empereurs nourris
 “ dans les fatigues de la guerre, qui par-
 “ venoient à faire descendre du trone une
 “ famille noyée dans les delices, conser-
 “ vassent la vertu qu'ils avoient eprouvée
 “ si utile, et craignissent les voluptés qu'ils
 “ avoient vue si funestes. Mais après ces
 “ trois ou quatre premiers princes, la
 “ corruption, le luxe, l'oisiveté, les deli-
 “ ces, s' emparent des successeurs ; ils
 “ s'enferment dans le palais, leur esprit
 “ s' affoiblit, leur vie s'accourcit, la fa-
 “ mille decline ; les grands s' élèvent, les
 “ eunuques s' acrediteut, on ne met sur
 “ le trone que des enfans ; le palais devi-
 “ ent ennemi de l' empire, un peuple oï-
 “ sif qui l' habite ruine celui qui travaille ;
 “ l'Empereur est tué ou destruit par un
 “ usurpateur, qui fonde une famille, dont
 “ le troisieme ou quatrieme successeur va
 “ dans le même palais se renfermer en-
 “ core * (a).”

Little

(a) L'esprit des Loix, liv. 7. chap. 7.

* “ It was indeed natural, that emperors, train-
 “ ed up to all the fatigues of war, who had effect-
 “ ed the dethronement of a family immersed in
 “ sensual pleasures, should adhere to that virtue of

Little reason then have we to apprehend the coalition of all nations into an universal monarchy. We see indeed in the history of mankind, frequent instances of the progress of nations from small to great ; but we see also instances no less frequent, of extensive monarchies being split into many small states. Such is the course of human affairs : states are seldom stationary ; but, like the sun, are either advancing to their meridian, or falling down gradually till they sink into obscurity. An empire subjected to effeminate princes,

“ which they had experienced the utility, and dread
“ that voluptuousness whose fatal effects they had
“ seen. But after a succession of three or four such
“ princes, corruption, luxury, and indolence, ap-
“ pear again in their successors : they shut them-
“ selves up in their palace, their soul is enervated,
“ their life is shortened, and their family declines :
“ the grandees acquire power, the eunuchs gain
“ credit, and children are set on the throne ; the
“ palace is at variance with the empire, the indo-
“ lent statesmen ruin the industrious people. The
“ Emperor is assassinated, or deposed by an usurper,
“ who founds a new race of monarchs, of which
“ the third or fourth in succession, sinking again
“ into indolence, pursues the same course of ruin,
“ and lays the foundation of a new change.”

and devoid of patriotism, cannot long subsist entire. The fate of all, with very few exceptions, has been the same. The governors of provinces, losing all regard for a voluptuous and effeminate monarch, take courage, set up for themselves, and assume regal authority, each in his own province. The puissant Assyrian monarchy, one of the earliest we read of in history, after having been long a terror to its neighbours, was dismembered by the governors of Media and of Babylon, who detached these extensive provinces from the monarchy. Mahomet and his immediate successors erected a great empire, of which Bagdat became the capital. The later Califfs of that race, poisoned with sensual pleasure, lost all vigour of mind, and sunk down into sloth and effeminacy. The governors of the distant provinces, were the first who ventured to declare themselves independent. Their success invited other governors, who stripped the Califf of his remaining provinces, leaving him nothing but the city of Bagdat; and of that he was deprived by the Tartars, who put an end to that once illustrious monarchy. The same would have been

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the fate of the Persian empire, had it not been subdued by Alexander of Macedon. But after his death it submitted to the ordinary fate: his generals assumed regal power, each of them in the province he governed. Had not the Roman empire been dismembered by the barbarians, it would have been dismembered by the governors of its provinces. The weakness of Charlemagne's successors, hatched in France and in Germany an endless number of petty sovereigns. About the time that a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, the great peninsula beyond the Ganges was comprehended under the powerful empire of Bisnagar. Its first monarchs had established themselves by valour and military knowledge. In war, they headed their troops: in peace, they directed their ministers, visited their dominions, and were punctual in rendering justice to high and low. The people carried on an extensive and lucrative commerce, which brought a revenue to the Emperor that enabled him to maintain a standing army of 100,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 700 elephants. But prosperity and opulence ruined all. The Emperors,

perors, poisoned with pride and voluptuousness, were now contented with swelling titles, instead of solid fame. *King of kings*, and *Husband of a thousand wives*, were at the head of a long catalogue of such pompous, but empty epithets. Corrupted by flattery, they affected divine honours, and appeared rarely in public; leaving the care of their dominions to their ministers, and to the governors of their provinces. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, neighbouring princes encroached on all sides. In the 1565, Bisnagar the capital was taken and sacked by four Moorish kings. The governors of the provinces declared themselves independent; and out of that great empire, sprung the kingdoms of Golconda, Visapour, and several others. The empire of Hindostan, once widely extended, is now reduced to a very small kingdom, under a prince who no longer is intitled to be designed the Great Mogul; the governors of his provinces having, as usual, declared themselves independent.

Our North American colonies are in a prosperous condition, increasing rapidly in population, and in opulence. The colonists

Ionists have the spirit of a free people, and are enflamed with patriotism. Their population will equal that of Britain and Ireland in less than a century; and they will then be a match for the mother-country, if they chuse to be independent: every advantage will be on their side, as the attack must be by sea from a very great distance. Being thus delivered from a foreign yoke, their first care will be the choice of a proper government; and it is not difficult to foresee what government will be chosen. A people animated with the new blessings of liberty and independence, will not incline to a kingly government. The Swiss cantons joined in a federal union, for protection against the potent house of Austria; and the Dutch embraced the like union, for protection against the more potent king of Spain. But our colonies will never join in such a union; because they have no potent neighbour, and because they have an aversion to each other. We may pronounce with assurance, that each colony will chuse for itself a republican government. And their present constitution prepares them for it:

they

they have a senate ; and they have an assembly representing the people. No change will be necessary, but to drop the governor who represents the King of Britain. And thus a part of a great state will be converted into many small states.

SKETCH

S K E T C H V.

Great and Small States compared.

Neighbours, according to the common saying, must be sweet friends or bitter enemies: patriotism is vigorous in small states; and hatred to neighbouring states, no less so: both vanish in a great monarchy.

Like a *maximum* in mathematics, emulation has the finest play within certain bounds: it languisheth where its objects are too many, or too few. Hence it is, that the most heroic actions are performed in a state of moderate extent: appetite for applause, or fame, may subsist in a great monarchy; but by that appetite, without the support of emulation, heroic actions are seldom atchieved.

Small states, however corrupted, are not liable to despotism: the people being close to the seat of government, and accustomed to see their governors daily, talk familiarly of their errors, and publish them

them every where. On Spain, which formerly consisted of many small states, a profound writer (*a*) makes the following observation. “ The petty monarch was but little elevated above his nobles: having little power, he could not command much respect; nor could his nobles look up to him with that reverence which is felt in approaching great monarchs.” Another thing is equally weighty against despotism in a small state: the army cannot easily be separated from the people; and for that reason, is very little dangerous. The Roman pretorian bands were billeted in the towns near Rome; and three cohorts only were employ'd in guarding that city. Sejanus, prefect of these bands under Tiberius, lodged the three cohorts in a spacious barrack within the city, in order to gain more authority over them, and to wean them from familiarity with the people. Tacitus, in the 4th book of his Annals, relates the story in the following words. “ Vim præfecturæ modicam antea, intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in causa conducendo; ut simul imperia ac-

(*a*) Dr Robertson.

“ ciperent, numeroque et robore, et visu,
“ inter se, fiducia ipsis, in cæteros metus,
“ crearetur *.”

What is said above, suggests the cause of a curious fact recorded in ancient history, “ That of many attempts to usurp the sovereignty of different Greek republics, very few succeeded ; and that no usurpation of that kind was lasting.” Every circumstance differs in an extensive state : the people, at a distance from the throne and having profound veneration for the sovereign, consider themselves, not as members of a body-politic, but as subjects merely, bound implicitly to obey : by which impression they are prepared beforehand for despotism. Other reasons concur : the subjects of a great state are dazzled with the splendor of their monarch ; and as their union is prevented by

* “ He extended the power of the prefecture, by collecting into one camp those pretorian cohorts which were formerly dispersed all over the city ; that thus, being united, they might be more influenced by his orders, and while their confidence in their power was increased by the constant view of their own numbers and strength, they might at the same time strike a great terror in others.”

distance, the monarch can safely employ a part of his subjects against the rest, or a standing army against all.

A great state possesses one eminent advantage, viz. ability to execute magnificent works. The hanging gardens of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, and its lake Meris, are illustrious examples. The city of Heliopolis in Syria, named *Balbek* by the Turks, is a pregnant instance of the power and opulence of the Roman empire. Even in the ruins of that city, there are remains of great magnificence and exquisite taste. If the imperial palace, or the temple of the Sun, to mention no other building, were the work of any European prince existing at present, it would make a capital figure in the annals of his reign. And yet so little was the *eclat* of these works even at the time of execution, that there is not a hint of them in any historian. The beneficence of some great monarchs is worthy of still greater praise. In the principal roads of Japan, hot baths are erected at proper distances with other conveniencies, for the use of travellers. The beneficence of the Chinese government to those who suffer shipwreck, gives a more advantageous

advantageous impression of that monarchy, than all that is painfully collected by Du Halde. To verify the observation, I gladly lay hold of the following incident. In the year 1728, the ship Prince George took her departure from Calcutta in Bengal for Canton in China, with a cargo L. 60,000 value. A violent storm drove her ashore at a place named *Timpau*, a great way west from Canton. Not above half the crew could make the shore, worn out with fatigue and hunger, and not doubting of being massacred by the natives. How amazed were they to be treated with remarkable humanity! A mandarin appeared, who not only provided for them victuals in plenty, but also men skilled in diving to assist them in fishing the wreck. What follows is in the words of my author, Alexander Wedderburn of St Germain, a gentleman of known worth and veracity, who bore office in the ship.
“ In a few days we recovered L. 5000 in
“ bullion, and afterward L. 10,000 more.
“ Before we set forward to Canton, the
“ mandarin our benefactor took an exact
“ account of our money, with the names
“ of the men, furnished us with an ef-

" cort to conduct us through his district,
" and consigned us dead or alive to one
" Suqua at Canton, a Chinese merchant
" well known to the English there. In
" every one of our resting-places, victuals
" were brought to us by the villagers in
" plenty, and with great cordiality. In
" this manner we passed from one district
" to another, without having occasion to
" lay out a single farthing, till we reached
" Canton, which we did in nine days,
" travelling sometimes by land, and some-
" times by water. Our case had been
" represented to the court at Pekin, from
" whence orders came to distribute a-
" mongst us a sum of money ; which was
" done by the Chuntuck, Hoppo, and o-
" ther officers, civil and military, assem-
" bled in great state. After a short speech,
" expressing regret for our calamity, with
" an eulogium on the humane and generous
" disposition of their master ; to each of
" us was presented the Emperor's bounty,
" in a yellow bag on which was inscribed
" the nature of the gift. The first super-
" cargo received 450 tales in silver, the
" second 350, myself 250, the mate 75,
" and each common seaman 15 ; the whole
" amounting

"amounting to about 2000 tales, or
"L. 800. This is an example worthy i-
"mitation, even where Christianity is
"professed ; tho' its tenets are often, on
"like occasions, scandalously perverted."
So far my author : and I add, that this
bounty was undoubtedly established by
law ; for it has not the appearance of an
occasional or singular act of benevolence.
If so, China is the only country in the
world, where charity to strangers in di-
stress is a branch of public police.

Another advantage of a great state I
mention with peculiar pleasure, because
all who aspire to be eminent in literature,
are interested in it. A small kingdom,
like Denmark, like Sweden, like Portugal,
cannot naturally be productive of good
writers ; because where there are few
readers, there is no sufficient incitement to
exert literary talents : a classical work pro-
duced at present in the Celtic tongue,
would fall little short of a miracle. France
is eminent above all other nations for the
encouragement it affords to good writers :
it is a populous country : it is the chief
seat of taste, arts, and sciences ; and its
language has become universal in Europe,
being

being the court-language every where: why then should not French writers carry the palm? But let not the British despise; for doth not a glorious prospect lie before them? The demand for English books in America is considerable; and is increasing daily. Population goes on vigorously: the number of British already settled upon the river Ohio approach to 10,000; and the delicious country from that river down to the mouth of the Mississippi, will be filled with people whose native tongue is English. So fine a climate and so rich a soil will be productive of readers in plenty. Such a prospect ought to rouse our ambition; and our ambition will be highly laudable, if rejecting local distinctions, we aspire to rival the French writers in real merit.

But the foregoing advantages of a great state, however illustrious, are sadly overbalanced by manifold disadvantages. The first is, the corruption of its kings, which, in a different view, is mentioned in the sketch immediately preceding. A second is, that great monarchs, being highly elevated above their subjects, are acquainted with none but their ministers. And mi-

nisters,

nisters, who in a despotic government are subject to no controul but that of their master, commonly prefer their own interest, without regard to his honour. Solyman Emperor of the Turks, tho' accomplished above any of his predecessors, could not escape the artifices of his wife Roxalana, and of his Visir Rustan. They poisoned his ears with repeated calumnies against his eldest son Mustapha, a young prince of great hopes. They were not in hazard of detection, because no person had access to the Emperor but by their means. And the concluding scene, was an order from the Emperor to put his son to death (*a*). If a great monarch lie thus open in his own palace to the artifices of his ministers, his authority, we may be certain, will be very slight over the governors of his distant provinces. Their power is precarious ; and they oppress the people without intermission, in order to amass wealth : the complaints of the people are disregarded ; for they never reach the throne. The Spanish governors of the Philippine islands, afford a deplorable in-

(*a*) See Dr Robertson's history of Charles V. where this incident is related with uncommon spirit.

stance of this observation. The heat of the climate promotes luxury; and luxury prompts avarice, which rages without controul, the distance of the capital removing all fear of detection. Arbitrary taxes are imposed on the people, and excessive duties on goods imported; which are rigorously exacted, because they are converted by the governor to his own use. An arbitrary estimate is made of what every field may produce; and the husbandman is severely punished if he fail to deliver the appointed quantity, whether his land has produced it or not. Many thousands have abandoned their native country; and the few miserable wretches who remain, have taken refuge among inaccessible mountains.

Third, The corruption of a court spreads through every member of the state. In an extensive kingdom that has no rival, the subjects, having no occasion to exert themselves in defence of their country, lose their manhood, and turn cowards. At the same time, great inequality of rank and fortune engender luxury, selfishness, and sensuality *. The fine

* The following passage is from a late Russian writer.

fine arts, it is true, gain ground, manufactures are perfected, and courtly manners prevail: but every manly virtue is gone; and not a soul to be found, who will venture his life to save his country. That disease is spreading in Britain; and the only circumstance that guards France from equal pusillanimity, is an established mode, that every gentleman must serve some campaigns in the army.

Fourth, An extensive monarchy is liable to internal convulsions or revolutions, occasioned commonly either by a standing army, or by the governors of distant provinces. With respect to the former, the

writer. " It is a truth founded on experience, that
" commerce polishes manners: but it is also a truth,
" that commerce, by exciting luxury, corrupts
" manners. With the increase of foreign fashions
" and foreign commerce in Russia, foreign luxury
" has increased there in proportion, universal diffi-
" pation has taken the lead, and profligacy of man-
" ners has followed. Great landlords squeeze and
" grind their people, to supply the incessant de-
" mands of luxury: the miserable peasant, disabled
" by a load of taxes, is frequently compelled to a-
" bandon his habitation, and to leave his land un-
" cultivated. And thus agriculture and population
" diminish daily; than which nothing worse can
" befal a state."

government of a great kingdom enervated by luxury, must be military, and consequently despotic. A numerous army will soon learn to contemn a pusillanimous leader, and to break loose from every tie of subjection : the sovereign is often changed at the caprice of the army ; but despotism continues to triumph. In Turkey, Janisaries dethrone the Sultan, without scruple ; but being superstitiously attached to the royal family, they confine themselves to it in electing a new Sultan. The pretorian bands were the Janisaries of the Roman empire, who never scrupled to dethrone the Emperor on the slightest disobligation. But as there was no royal family, they commonly carried the crown to market, and bestow'd it on the highest bidder. With respect to the latter, the governors of distant provinces, accustomed to act without controul, become greedy of power, and put no bounds to ambition. Let them but gain the affection of the people they govern, and boldness will do the rest. The monarch is dethroned before he is prepared for defence ; and the usurper takes his place without opposition. Success commonly attends such undertakings ;

kings ; for the sovereign has no soul, and the people have no patriotism. In Hindostan formerly, some discontented favourite or souba took up arms to avenge fancied, or perhaps affected wrongs : venturing not however upon independence, he screened himself with setting up some person of the royal blood, whom he proclaimed sovereign. The voluptuousness and effeminacy of the late kings of Persia, has rendered that kingdom a prey to every bold invader. No great state ever lay so open to adventurers, as Persia has done of late years.

In the fifth place, a nation corrupted with luxury and sensuality is a ready morsel for every invader : to attempt the conquest, and to succeed, are almost the same. The potent Affyrian monarchy, having long subsisted in peace without a single enemy, sunk into sloth and effeminacy, and became an easy prey to the kings of Media and Babylon. These two nations, in like circumstances of sloth and effeminacy, were in their turn swallow'd up by Cyrus King of Persia. And the great empire of Persia, running the same course, was subdued by Alexander of Ma-

cedon with a small army of thirty-five thousand men *.

And this leads to a sixth disadvantage of a great empire, which is, the difficulty of guarding its frontiers. A kingdom, like an animal, becomes weak in proportion to its excess above a certain size. France and Spain would be less fitted for defence, were they enlarged beyond their present extent: Spain in particular was a very weak kingdom, while it comprehended the Netherlands and the half of Italy. In their present extent, forces are soon collected to guard the most distant frontiers. Months are required to assemble troops in an overgrown kingdom like Persia: if an army be defeated at the frontier, it must disperse, fortified places being seldom within reach. The victor, advancing with celerity, lays siege to the capital, before the provincial troops can be formed into a regular army:

* In Europe, neighbouring nations differ little in manners, or in fortitude. In Asia, we step instantly from the fierce Tartars, inhabiting a cold and barren country, to the effeminate people of countries warm and fertile. Hence in Asia perpetual conquests from north to south, to which even the great wall of China makes scarce any obstacle.

the capital is taken, the empire dissolved ; and the conqueror at leisure disputes the provinces with their governors. The Philippine islands made formerly a part of the extensive empire of China ; but as they were too distant to be protected or well governed, it shou'd consummate wisdom in the Chinese government to abandon them, with several other distant provinces.

A small state, on the other hand, is easily guarded. The Greek republics thought themselves sufficiently fortified against the Great King, by their courage, their union, and their patriotism. The Spanish Christians, abandoning the open country to the Saracens, retired to the mountains of Asturia, and elected Don Pelayo to be their King. That warlike prince walled none of his towns, nor did he fortify a single pass ; knowing, that while his people were brave, they would be invincible ; and that walls and strong-holds serve but to abate courage. The Romans, while circumscribed within Italy, never thought of any defence against an enemy but good troops. When they had acquired a vast empire, even the Rhine appeared a barrier

too

too weak: the numberless forts and legions that covered their frontiers could not defend them from a panic upon every motion of the barbarians *. A nation, in which the reciprocal duties of sovereign and subject are conscientiously fulfilled, and in which the people love their country and their governors, may be deemed invincible; provided due care be taken of the military branch. Every particular is reversed in a great empire: individuals grasp at money, *per fas aut nefas*, to lavish it upon pleasure: the governors of distant provinces tyrannize without control; and, during the short period of their power, neglect no means, however oppressive, to amass wealth. Thus were the Roman provinces governed; and the people, who could not figure a greater tyrant than a Roman proconsul, were ready to embrace every change. The Romans accordingly were sensible, that to force their barrier, and to dismember their empire, were in effect the same. In our times, the nations whose frontiers lie open, would make the most resolute opposition to an invader; witness the

* The use of cannon, which place the weak and strong upon a level, is the only resource of the luxurious and opulent against the poor and hardy.

German states, and the Swiss cantons. Italy enjoys the strongest natural barrier of any country that is not an island ; and yet for centuries has been a prey to every invader.

Three plans at different times have been put in execution for securing the frontiers of an extensive empire, building walls, laying the frontiers waste, and establishing feudatory princes. The first was the ancient practice, proper only for an idle people without commerce. The Egyptians built a very extensive wall for protecting themselves against the wandering Arabs, The famous wall of China to protect its effeminate inhabitants against the Tartars, is known all the world over ; and the walls built in the north of England against the Scots and Picts, are known to every Briton. To protect the Roman territory from German invaders, the Emperor Probus constructed a stone wall strengthened with towers. It stretched from Ratisbon on the Danube to Wimpfen on the Neckar ; and terminated on the bank of the Rhine, after a winding course of two hundred miles. To a low state indeed must the Greek empire have been reduced in the reign of the Emperor Anastasius,

stasius, when to repress the Bulgarians, it was necessary to build a wall, at no greater distance from Constantinople than ten leagues, abandoning all without to the barbarians. Such walls, tho' erected with stupendous labour, prove a very weak bulwark; for a wall of any extent is never so carefully guarded, as at all times to prevent surprise. And accordingly, experience has taught that walls cannot be rely'd on. This in modern times has introduced the two other methods mentioned. Sha Abbas, King of Persia, in order to prevent the inroads of the Turks, laid waste part of Armenia, carrying the inhabitants to Ispahan, and treating them with great humanity. Land is not much valued by the great monarchs of Asia: it is precious in the smaller kingdoms of Europe, and the frontiers are commonly guarded by fortified towns. The other frontiers of Persia are guarded by feudatory princes; and the same method is practised in China, in Hindostan, and in the Turkish empire. The princes of Little Tartary, Moldavia, and Wallachia, have been long a security to the Grand Signior against his powerful neighbours in Europe.

S K E T C H VI.

War and Peace Compared.

NO complaints are more frequent than against the weather, when it suits not our purpose: “A dismal season! we shall be drowned, or we shall be burnt up.” And yet wise men think, that there might be more occasion to complain, were the weather left to our own direction. The weather is not the only instance of distrust in Providence: it is a common topic to declaim against war; “Scourge of nations, Destroyer of the human race, Bane of arts and industry! Will the world never become wise! Will war never have an end!” · Manifold indeed are the blessings of peace; but doth war never produce any good? A fair comparison may possibly make it doubtful, whether war, like the weather, ought not to be resigned to the conduct of Providence: seldom are we in the right, when we repine at its dispensations.

The blessings of peace are too well known to need illustration : industry, commerce, the fine arts, power, opulence, &c. &c. depend on peace. What has war in store for balancing blessings so substantial ? Let us not abandon the field without making at least one effort.

Humanity, it must be acknowledged, gains nothing from the wars of small states in close neighbourhood : such wars are brutal and bloody ; because they are carried on with bitter enmity against individuals. Thanks to Providence, that war at present bears a less savage aspect : we spare individuals, and make war upon the nation only : barbarity and cruelty give place to magnanimity ; and soldiers are converted from brutes into heroes. Such wars give exercise to the elevated virtues of courage, generosity, and disinterestedness, which are always attended with consciousness of merit and of dignity *.

Friendship

* In the war carried on by Louis XII. of France against the Venetians, the town of Brescia, being taken by storm and abandoned to the soldiers, suffered for seven days all the distresses of cruelty and avarice. No house escaped but that where Chevalier

Friendship is in peace cool and languid ; but in a war for glory, exerts the whole fire of its enthusiasm. The long and bloody

lier Bayard was lodged. At his entrance, the mistress, a woman of rank, fell at his feet, and deeply sobbing, " Oh ! my Lord, save my life, save the honour of my daughters." Take courage, Madam, said the Chevalier, your life and their honour shall be secure while I have life. The two daughters, brought from their hiding-place, were presented to him ; and the family reunited bestow'd their whole attention on their deliverer. A dangerous wound he had received gave them opportunity to express their zeal : they employ'd a notable surgeon ; they attended him by turn day and night ; and when he could bear to be amused, they entertained him with concerts of music. Upon the day fixed for his departure, the mother said to him, " To your goodness, my Lord, we owe our lives ; and to you all we have belongs by right of war : but we hope from your signal benevolence, that this slight tribute will content you ;" placing upon the table an iron coffer full of money. " What is the sum," said the Chevalier. " My Lord," answered she trembling, " no more, but 2500 ducats, all that we have ; — but if more be necessary, we will try our friends." — " Madam," said he, " your kindness is more precious in my eyes than a hundred thousand ducats. Take back your money, and depend always on me." — " My good Lord, you kill me in refusing this small sum :

bloody war sustained by the Netherlanders against the tyrant of Spain, made even Dutchmen heroes : they forc'd their way
to

“ take it only as a mark of your friendship to my
“ family.” — “ Well,” said he, “ since it will
“ oblige you, I take the money ; but give me the
“ satisfaction of bidding adieu to your amiable
“ daughters.” They came to him with looks of
regard and affection. “ Ladies,” said he, “ the im-
“ pression you have made on my heart, will never
“ wear out. What return to make I know not ;
“ for men of my profession are seldom opulent :
“ but here are two thousand five hundred ducats,
“ of which the generosity of your mother has given
“ me the disposal. Accept them as a marriage-
“ present ; and may your happiness in marriage e-
“ qual your merit.” “ Flower of chivalry,” cried
the mother, “ may the God who suffered death for
“ us reward you here and hereafter.” Can peace
afford so sweet a scene ?

The following incident is still more interesting : it is of a late date among our countrymen ; and will, for that reason, make the deeper impression. The scene of action was in Admiral Watson’s ship at the siege of Chandernagore, where Captain Speke, and his son a youth of sixteen, were both of them wounded by the same shot. The history is related by Mr Ives surgeon of the ship ; which follows in his own words, only a little abridged. The Captain, whose leg was hanging by the skin, said to the Admiral, “ Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel shot, to
“ knock

to the Indies during the hottest period of the war ; and gained by commerce what supported them against their ferocious enemy.

" knock down both father and son." Mr Watson's heart was too full for a reply ; he only ordered both to be carried down to the surgeon. The Captain, who was first brought down, told me how dangerously his Billy had been wounded. Presently after the brave youth himself appeared, with his eyes overflowing with tears, not for himself but for his father. Upon my assurance that his father's wound was not dangerous, he became calm ; but refused to be touched till his father's wound should be first dressed. Then pointing to a fellow-sufferer, " Pray, " Sir, dress also that poor man who is groaning so sadly beside me." I told him that the man had already been taken care of ; and begged, that I now might have liberty to examine his wound. He submitted ; and calmly said, " Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint." I replied, " My dear, I must." He clasped his hands together ; and, lifting his eyes toward heaven, he offered up the following short but earnest petition : " Good God ! do thou enable me to behave in my present circumstances worthy of my father." He then told me he was all submission. I performed the operation above the joint of the knee ; and during the whole time the intrepid youth never spoke a word, nor uttered a groan that could be heard at the distance of a yard. It is easier to imagine than to express the feelings of the father at this time : but whatever he

felt,

nemy. What have they gained since by peace? Their immense commerce has eradicated patriotism, and every appetite but

felt, tears were the only expression. Both of them were carried to Calcutta : the father was lodged in the house of his brother-in-law ; and the son was placed with me in the hospital. For the first week I gave comfort to both, carrying good tidings to them of one another. But, alas ! all the good symptoms that had attended the young man, began to disappear. The Captain perceived all in my countenance ; and so unwilling was he to add to my distress, as seldom to speak about his son. One time he said, " How long, my friend, do you think " my Billy may remain in a state of uncertainty ?" I replied, that if he survived the fifteenth day after the operation, there would be strong hopes of his recovery. On the thirteenth he died ; and on the sixteenth, the Captain, looking me steadfastly in the face, " Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy ?" Discovering the truth from my silence, he cried bitterly, squeezed my hand, and begged me to leave him for one half-hour. When I returned, he appeared, as he ever after did, perfectly calm and serene. The excellent youth had been delirious the evening before his death ; and at two o'clock in the morning, he sent me a note written with a pencil, of which the following is a copy. " Mr Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in when he is dying, and is yet in doubt about his father.—If Mr Ives is not too busy to honour this note, which

" nothing

but for wealth. Had their violated rights been restored without a struggle, they would have continued a nation of frogs and fishermen. The Swiss, by continual struggles for liberty against the potent house of Austria, became a brave and active people, feared and courted by neighbouring princes. Their federal union has secured to them peace and tranquillity; which, notwithstanding their mountainous situation, would have sunk them into effeminacy, but for a commerce they carry on of hiring out their men for soldiers. Monks are commonly pusillanimous: their way of life, which removes

“ nothing but the greatest uneasiness could draw
“ from me—The boy waits an answer.” I immediately repaired to him; and he had still sense enough to know me. He then said, “ And is he dead?”
—“ Who, my dear?” —“ My father, Sir.”
—“ No, my love; nor is he in any danger; he
“ is almost well.” —“ I thank God: I am now
“ satisfied, and am ready to die.” He had a locked jaw, and was in great pain, but I understood every word he uttered. He begged my pardon for having disturbed me at so early an hour; and before the day was ended, he surrendered a life that deserved to be immortal.—So far my author; and I only add, Does peace afford any scene that can compare with this in moving our sympathetic feelings?

them

them from danger, enervates the mind, and renders them spiritless and cowardly.

Industry, manufactures, and wealth, are the fruits of peace; but advert to what follows. Luxury, a never-failing concomitant of wealth, is a slow poison, that debilitates men, and renders them incapable of any great effort: courage, magnanimity, heroism, come to be ranked among the miracles that are supposed never to have existed but in fable; and the fashionable properties of sensuality, avarice, cunning, and dissimulation, engross the mind. In a word, man by constant prosperity and peace degenerates into a mean, impotent, and selfish animal. An American savage, who treasures up the scalps of his enemies as trophies of his prowess, is a being far superior. Such are the fruits of perpetual peace with respect to individuals.

Nor is the state itself less debilitated by it than its members. Figure a man wallowing in riches and immersed in sensual pleasure, but dreading the infection of a plague raging at his gate; or figure him in continual dread of an enemy, watching every opportunity to burn and destroy.

stroy. This man represents a commercial state, that has long enjoy'd peace without disturbance. A state that is a tempting object to an invader, without means of defence, is in a woful situation. The republic of Venice was once famous for the wisdom of its constitution, and for being the Christian bulwark against the Turks ; but by long peace it has become altogether effeminate. Its principles of government are conformable to its character : every cause of quarrel with a neighbour, is anxiously avoided ; and disturbances at home prevented by watchful spies. Holland, since the days of King William, has not produced a man fit to command a regiment : and the Dutch have nothing to rely on for independence, but mutual jealousy among their neighbours. Hannibal appeared upon the stage too early : had the Romans, after their conquest of Italy, been suffered to exchange their martial spirit for luxury and voluptuousness, they would have been no match for that great general. It was equally lucky for the Romans, that they came late upon Macedon. Had Alexander finished his conquest of Greece, and the Romans theirs

of Italy, at the same period, they would probably have been confined, each of them, within their own limits. But Asiatic luxury and effeminacy, which had got hold of the Greeks and Macedonians before the Roman invasion, rendered them an easy prey to the invaders. It was the constant cry of Cato the Censor, “*Delenda est Carthago.*” Scipio Nasica was a more subtle politician: his opinion was, to give peace to Carthage, that the dread of that once powerful republic, might preserve in vigour the military spirit of his country. What happened afterward, sets the wisdom of that advice in a conspicuous light. The battle of Actium, after a long train of cruel civil wars, gave peace to Rome under the Emperor Augustus. Peace had not subsisted much above thirty years, when a Roman army, under Quintilius Varus, was cut to pieces in Germany. The consternation at Rome was unspeakable, as there was not a fortified town to prevent the Germans from pouring down upon Italy. Instant orders were given for levying men; but so effeminate had the Romans already become, that not a single man would enlist voluntarily. And Au-

gustus

gustus was forc'd to use severe measures, before he could collect a small army. How different the military spirit of the Romans during the second Punic war, when several Roman armies were cut off, greater than that of Varus. The citizens who could bear arms were reduced to 137,000 ; and yet in the later years of that war, the Romans kept the field with no fewer than twenty-three legions (*a*). The Vandals, having expelled the Romans from Afric, enjoy'd peace for a century without seeing the face of an enemy. Procopius (*b*) gives the following account of them. Charmed with the fertility of the soil and benignity of the climate, they abandoned themselves to luxury, sumptuous dress, high living, and frequent baths. They dwelt in the theatre and circus, amusing themselves with dancers, pantomimes, and every gay entertainment : their villas were splendid ; and their gardens were adorned with water-works, beautiful trees, odoriferous flowers : no regard to chastity, nor to any manly virtue. In that effeminate state, they

(*a*) Titus Livius, lib. 26. cap. 1.

(*b*) Historia Vandalica, lib. 2.

made scarce any resistance to Belisarius with an army far inferior in number to their own. The Saracens of Asia, corrupted by prosperity and opulence, were able to make no head against the Turks. About that time, the Spaniards, equally corrupted, were overpowered by the Saracens of Africa; who, remote from the dissolute manners of Asia, retained their military spirit. The wealth of the kingdom of Whidah in Guinea, from fertility of soil, great industry, and extensive commerce, produced luxury and effeminacy. The king gave himself up to sensual pleasures, leaving government to his ministers. In that state was Whidah in the year 1727, when the king of Dahomay requested access to the sea for trade, offering to purchase the privilege with a yearly tribute. A haughty denial furnished a pretext for war. The king of Dahomay invaded the territories of his enemy with a disciplined army, and pierced to the capital without resistance. The king of Whidah with his women had fled to an island, and his people were all dispersed. It amazed the conqueror, that a whole nation, without striking a blow, had thus deserted their wives, their children,

dren, their gods, their possessions, and all that was dear to them. The Japanese became warlike during long and bloody civil wars, which terminated about the end of the sixteenth century in rendering their Emperor despotic. From that period, no opportunity has occurred for exercising their military spirit, except in the education of their youth : heroism with contempt of death are inculcated ; and the histories of their illustrious heroes, are the only books that boys at school are taught to read. But the profound tranquillity that the empire now enjoys in a strict and regular government, will in time render that warlike people effeminate and cowardly : human nature cannot resist the poison of perpetual peace and security. In the war between the Turks and Venetians *anno 1715*, the latter put great confidence in Napoli di Romania, a city in the Morea strongly fortified, and provided with every necessary for an obstinate defence. They had not the least doubt of being able to draw their whole force together, before the Turks could make any progress in the siege. But, to their astonishment, the taking of that city, and of every other fortified place

place in the Morea, was the work of but a single campaign. So much had the Venetians degenerated by long peace, from the courage and patriotism of their forefathers who conquered that country from the Turks. In some late accounts from China, we are told, that the King of Bengala or Bracma, having invaded Yunnan, an opulent province of China, obtained a complete victory over the Emperor's army, commanded by his son-in-law: the inhabitants of that province were struck with such a panic, that multitudes, for fear of the conqueror, hanged and drowned themselves. To what a torpid state by this time would Europe have been reduced, had the plan for a perpetual peace, projected by Henry IV. of France, been carried into execution? Conquest, in a retrograde motion, would have directed its progress from the east to the west. Our situation in an island, among several advantages, is so far unlucky, that it puts us off our guard, and renders us negligent in providing for defence: we never were invaded without being subdued *.

Montesquieu,

* The situation of the King of Sardinia, environed

Montesquieu, in a warm panegyric on the English constitution, has overlooked one particular, in which it is superior to every other monarchy; and that is, the frequent opportunities it affords to exert mental powers and talents. What agitation among the candidates and their electors, on the approach of a new parliament: what freedom of speech and eloquence in parliament; ministers and their measures laid open to the world, the nation kept alive, and inspired with a vigour of mind that tends to heroism! This government, it is true, generates factions, which sometimes generate revolutions: but the golden age, so lusciously described by poets, would to man be worse than an iron age. At any rate, better to have a government liable to

ed on all fides with powerful monarchs, obliges him to act with the greatest circumspection; which circumstance seems to have formed the character of the princes of that house. These princes have exerted more sagacity in steering their political vessel, and more dexterity in availing themselves of every wind, than any other race of sovereigns that figure in history. *Robertson's history of the Emperor Charles V.*

storms, than to seek for quiet in the dead calm of despotism *.

Law-suits

* On n'entend parler dans les auteurs que des divisions qui perdirent Rome ; mais on ne voit pas que ces divisions y étoient nécessaires, qu'elles y avoient toujours été, et qu'elles y devoient toujours être. Ce fut uniquement la grandeur de la république qui fit le mal, et qui changea en guerres civiles les tumultes populaires. Il falloit bien qu'il y eut à Rome des divisions : et ces guerriers si fiers, si audacieux, si terribles au dehors, ne pouvoient pas être bien modérés au dedans. Demander dans un état libre des gens hardis dans la guerre, et timides dans la paix, c'est vouloir des choses impossibles : et pour règle générale, toutes les fois qu'on verra tout le monde tranquille dans un état qui se donne le nom de république, on peut être assuré que la liberté n'y est pas. *Montesquieu, grandeur des Romains, ch. 9.* — [In English thus : “ Many writers have said a great deal on those factions which destroyed Rome ; but they want the penetration to see, that those factions were necessary, that they had always subsisted, and ever must have subsisted. It was the grandeur of the state which alone occasioned the evil, and changed into civil wars the tumults of the people. There must of necessity have been factions in Rome ; for how was it possible, that those who abroad subdued all by their undaunted bravery and by the terror of their arms, should live in peace and moderation at home ? To look for a people in a free state who are intrepid in war, and, at the same time, timid

Law-suits within a state, like war between different states, accustom people to opposition, and prevent too great softness and facility of manners. In a free government, a degree of stubbornness in the people, is requisite for resisting encroachments on their liberties. The fondness of the French for their sovereign, and the easiness and politeness of their manners, have corrupted a good constitution. The British constitution has been preserved entire, by a people jealous of their prince, and resolute against every encroachment of regal power.

There is another advantage of war, that ought not to be overlooked, tho' not capital. It serves to drain the country of idlers, few of whom are innocent, and many not a little mischievous. In the years 1759 and 1760, when we were at war with France, there were but twenty-nine criminals condemned at the Old Bailey. In the years 1770 and 1771, when

“ in peace, is to look for an impossibility; and we
“ may hold it as a general rule, that in a state,
“ which professes a republican form of government,
“ if the people are quiet and peaceable, there is no
“ real liberty.”]

we were at peace with all the world, the criminals condemned there amounted to one hundred and fifty-one.

But tho' I declare against perpetual peace, perpetual war is still more my aversion. The condition of Europe was deplorable in the dark ages, when vassals assumed the privilege of waging war without consent of the sovereign. Deadly feuds prevailed universally, and threatened dissolution of all government: the human race never were in a more woful condition. But anarchy never fails soon or late to rectify itself, which effeminacy produced by long peace never does. Revenge and cruelty, it is true, are the fruits of war: but so are likewise firmness of mind and undaunted courage; which are exerted with better will in behalf of virtue than of revenge. The crusades were what first gave a turn to the fierce manners of our ancestors. A religious enterprise, uniting numbers formerly at variance, enlarged the sphere of social affection, and sweetened the manners of Christians to one another. These crusades filled Europe with heroes, who, at home, were ready for any new enterprise that promised laurels.

Moved

Moved with the horror of deadly feuds, they joined in bonds of chivalry for succouring the distressed, for redressing wrongs, and for protecting widows and orphans. Such heroism enflamed every one who was fond of glory and warlike achievements : chivalry was relished by men of birth ; and even kings were proud to be of the order. An institution, blending together valour, religion, and gallantry, was wonderfully agreeable to a martial people : and humanity and gentleness could not but prevail in a society, whose profession it was to succour every person in distress. As glory and honour were the only wished-for recompence, chivalry was esteemed the school of honour, of truth, and of fidelity. Thus, truth without disguise, and a scrupulous adherence to promises, became the distinguishing virtues of a gentleman. It is true, that the enthusiasm of protecting widows and orphans, degenerated sometimes into extravagance ; witness knights who wandered about in quest of adventures. But it would be unfair to condemn the whole order, because a few of their number were extravagant. The true spirit of chivalry,

produced a signal reformation in the manners of Europe. To what other cause can we so justly ascribe the point of honour, and that humanity in war, which characterize modern manners (*a*)? Are peace, luxury, and selfishness, capable of producing such effects?

That man should be the only animal that makes war upon his own kind, may appear strange and unaccountable. Did men listen to cool reason, they never would make war. Hear the celebrated Rousseau on that subject. “ Un prince, qui pour “ reculer ses frontiers, perd autant de ses “ anciens sujets qu’ il en acquiert de nou-“ veaux, s’ affoiblit en s’ agrandissant ; “ parce qu’ avec un plus grand espace à “ defendre, il n’a pas plus de défenseurs. “ Or on ne peut ignorer, que par la ma-“ niere dont la guerre se fait aujourd’hui, “ la moindre dépopulation qu’elle produit “ est celle qui se fait dans les armées : “ c’est bien-là la perte apparente et sen-“ sible : mais il s’en fait en même tems “ dans tout l’état une plus grave et plus “ irreparable que celle des hommes qui “ meurent, par ceux qui ne naissent pas,

(*a*) Dr Robertson’s history of the Emperor Charles V.

“ par

“ par l’augmentation des impôts, par l’interruption du commerce, par la désertion des campagnes, par l’abandon de l’agriculture ; ce mal qu’on n’apparçoit point d’abord, se fait sentir cruellement dans la suite : et c’est alors qu’on est étonné d’être si foible, pour s’être rendu si puissant. Ce qui rend encore les conquêtes moins intéressantes, c’est qu’on fait maintenant par quels moyens on peut doubler et tripler sa puissance, non seulement sans étendre son territoire, mais quelquefois en le resserrant, comme fit très sagement l’Empereur Adrien. On fait que ce sont les hommes seuls qui sont la force des Rois ; et c’est une proposition qui découle de ce que je viens de dire, que de deux états qui nourrissent le même nombre d’habitans, celui qui occupe une moindre étendue de terre, est réellement le plus puissant. C’est donc par de bonnes loix, par une sage police, par de grandes vues économiques, qu’un souverain judicieux est sûr d’augmenter ses forces, sans rien donner au hazard *.” But war is necessary

* “ A prince, who in extending his territories sustains

cessary for man, being a school for improving every manly virtue; and Providence renders kings blind to their true interest

“ sustains the loss of as many of his old subjects as
“ he acquires new, weakens in fact his power while
“ he aims at strengthening it: he increases the ter-
“ ritory to be defended, while the number of de-
“ fenders is not increased. Who does not know,
“ that in the modern manner of making war, the
“ greatest depopulation is not from the havock
“ made in the armies? That indeed is the obvious
“ and apparent destruction; but there is, at the
“ same time, in the state a loss much more severe
“ and irreparable; not that thousands are cut off,
“ but that thousands are not born: population is
“ wounded by the increase of taxes, by the inter-
“ ruption of commerce, by the desertion of the
“ country, and by the stagnation of agriculture:
“ the misfortune which is overlooked at first, is se-
“ verely felt in the event; and it is then that we are
“ astonished to find we have been growing weak,
“ while increasing our power. What renders every
“ new conquest still the less valuable, is the consi-
“ deration of the possibility of doubling and tripling
“ a nation’s power, without extending its territory,
“ nay, even by diminishing it. The Emperor A-
“ drian knew this, and wisely practised it. The
“ numbers of the subjects are the strength of the
“ prince: and a consequence of what I have said is
“ this proposition, That of two states equal in the
“ number of inhabitants, that is in reality the more
“ powerful

terest, in order that war may sometimes take place. To rely upon Providence in the government of this world, is the wisdom of man.

Upon the whole, perpetual war is bad, because it converts men into beasts of prey : perpetual peace is worse, because it converts men into beasts of burden. To prevent such woful degeneracy on both hands, war and peace alternately are the only effectual means ; and these means are adopted by Providence.

“ powerful which occupies the smaller territory.
“ It is by good laws, by a salutary police, and great
“ economical schemes, that a wise sovereign gains a
“ sure augmentation of strength, without trusting
“ any thing to the fortune of his arms.”

SKETCH

S K E T C H , VII.

Rise and Fall of Patriotism.

THE members of a tribe in their original state of hunting and fishing, being little united but by a common language, have no notion of a *patria*; and scarce any notion of society, unless when they join in an expedition against an enemy, or against wild beasts. The shepherd-state, where flocks and herds are possessed in common, gives a clear notion of a common interest; but still none of a *patria*. The sense of a *patria* begins to unfold itself, when a people leave off wandering, to settle upon a territory that they call their own. Agriculture connects them together; and government still more: they become fellow-citizens; and the territory is termed the *patria* of every person born in it. It is so ordered by Providence, that a man's country and his countrymen, are to him in conjunction an object of a peculiar affection, termed *amor patriæ*, or *patriotism*;

patriotism; an affection that rises high among a people intimately connected by regular government, by husbandry, by commerce, and by a common interest.

“ Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propin-
 “ qui, familiares; sed omnes omnium
 “ caritates patria una complexa est: pro
 “ qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppo-
 “ tere *?”

In a man of a solitary disposition who avoids society, patriotism cannot abound. He may possibly have no hatred to his countrymen; but were he desirous to see them happy, he would live among them, and put himself in the way of doing good.

The affection a man has for the place where he was bred, ought to be distinguished from patriotism, being a passion far inferior, and chiefly visible in the low people. A rustic has few ideas but of external sense: his hut, his wife, his children, the hills, trees, and rivulets around him,

* “ Our parents are dear to us; so are our chil-
 “ dren, our relations, and our friends: all these
 “ our country comprehends; and shall we fear to
 “ die for our country?”

compose the train of his ideas. Remove him from these objects, and he finds a dismal vacuity in his mind. History, poetry, and other subjects of literature, have no relation to time nor place. Horace is relished in a foreign country as at home: the pleasures of conversation depend on persons, not on place.

Social passions and affections, beside being much more agreeable than selfish, are those only which command our esteem (*a*). Patriotism stands at the head of social affections; and stands so high in our esteem, that no actions but what proceed from it are termed grand or heroic. When that affection appears so agreeable in contemplation, how glowing, how elevating, must it be in those whom it inspires! like vigorous health, it beats constantly with an equal pulse: like the vestal fire, it never is extinguished. No source of enjoyment is more plentiful than patriotism, where it is the ruling passion: it triumphs over every selfish motive, and is a firm support to every virtue. In fact, where-ever it prevails, the morals

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. I. p. 113. edit. 5.

of the people are found to be pure and correct *.

These are illustrious effects of patriotism with respect to private happiness and virtue ; and yet its effects with respect to the public are still more illustrious. A nation in no other period of its progress is so flourishing, as when patriotism is the ruling passion of every member : during that period, it is invincible. Atheneus remarks, that the Athenians were the only people in the world, who, tho' clothed in purple, put formidable armies to flight at Marathon, Salamine, and Platea. But at that period patriotism was their ruling passion ; and success attended them in every undertaking. Where patriotism rules,

* I know of but one bad effect of patriotism, that it is apt to inspire too great partiality for our countrymen. Excusable in the vulgar, but unbecoming in men of rank and figure. The Duke de Montmorenci, after a victory, treated his prisoners with great humanity. He yielded his bed to Don Martin of Arragon, sent his surgeon to dress his wounds, and visited him daily. That Lord, amaz'd at so great humanity, said one day to the Duke, “ Sir, were you a Spaniard, you would be the greatest man in the universe.” It grieves me to hear it objected to the English, that they have too much of the Spaniard in their sentiments.

men perform wonders, whatever garb they wear. The fall of Saguntum is a grand scene; a people exerting the utmost powers of nature, in defence of their country. The city was indeed destroy'd; but the citizens were not subdued. The last effort of the remaining heroes was, to burn themselves with their wives and children in one great funeral pile. Numantia affords a scene no less grand. The citizens, such as were able to bear arms, did not exceed 8000; and yet braved all the efforts of 60,000 disciplined soldiers, commanded by Scipio Nasica. So high was their character for intrepidity, that even when but a few of them were left alive, the Romans durst not attempt to storm the town. And they stood firm, till subdued by famine they were no longer able to crawl. While the Portuguese were eminent for patriotism, Lopez Carasco, one of their sea-captains, in a single ship with but forty men, fell in among the King of Achin's fleet of twenty gallies, as many junks, and a multitude of small vessels. Resolute to perish rather than yield, he maintained the fight for three days, till his ship was pierced through

through and through with cannon-shot, and not a single man left unwounded. And yet, after all, the King's fleet found it convenient to sheer off.

Patriotism at the same time is the great bulwark of civil liberty ; equally abhorrent of despotism on the one hand, and of licentiousness on the other. While the despotic government of the Tudor family subsisted, the English were too much depressed to have any affection for their country. But when manufactures and commerce began to flourish in the latter end of Elisabeth's reign, a national spirit broke forth, and patriotism made some figure. That change of disposition was perhaps the chief cause, tho' not the most visible, of the national struggles for liberty, which were frequent during the government of the Stewart family, and which ended in a free government at the Revolution.

Patriotism is too much cramped in a very small state, and too much relaxed in an extensive monarchy. But that topic has already been discussed in the first sketch of this book.

Patriotism is enflamed by a struggle for liberty,

liberty, by a civil war, by resisting a potent invader, or by any incident that forcibly draws the members of a state into strict union for the common interest. The resolute opposition of the Dutch to Philip II. of Spain, in the cause of liberty, is an illustrious instance of the patriotic spirit rising to a degree of enthusiasm. Patriotism, roused among the Corsicans by the oppression of the Genoese, exerted itself upon every proper object. Even during the heat of the war, they erected an university for arts and sciences, a national bank, and a national library; improvements that would not have been thought of in their torpid state. Alas ! they have fallen a victim to thirst of power, not to superior valour. Had Providence favoured them with success, their figure would have been considerable in peace as in war *.

But

* The elevation of sentiment that a struggle for liberty inspires, is conspicuous in the following incident. A Corsican being condemned to die for an atrocious crime, his nephew with deep concern addressed Paoli in the following terms. "Sir, if you pardon my uncle, his relations will give to the state a thousand zechins, beside furnishing fifty
" soldiers.

But violent commotions cannot be perpetual: one party prevails, and prosperity follows. What effect may this have on patriotism? I answer, that nothing is more animating than success after a violent struggle: a nation in that state resembles a comet, which in passing near the sun, has been much heated, and continues full of motion. Patriotism made a capital figure among the Athenians, when they became a free people, after expelling the tyrant Pisistratus. Every man exerted himself for his country: every man endeavoured to excell those who went before him: and hence a Miltiades, an Aristides, a Themistocles, names that for ever will figure in the annals of time. While the Roman republic was confined within nar-

" soldiers during the siege of Furiali. Let him be
" banished; and he shall never return." Paoli,
knowing the virtue of the young man, said, " You
" are acquainted with the circumstances of that
" case: I will consent to a pardon, if you can say
" as an honest man, that it will be just or honour-
" able for Corsica." The young man, hiding his
face burst into tears, saying, " I would not have
" the honour of our country sold for a thousand
" zechins."

row bounds, austerity of manners, and disinterested love to their country, formed the national character. The elevation of the Patricians above the Plebeians, a source of endless discord, was at last remedied by placing all the citizens on a level. This signal revolution excited an animating emulation between the Patricians and Plebeians; the former, by heroic actions, labouring to maintain their superiority; the latter straining every nerve to equal them: the republic never at any other period produced so great men in the art of war.

It has been often remarked, that a nation is never so great as after a civil war. The good of the state is commonly the object; and patriotism is the ruling passion of both sides, tho' not always well directed. The good of the state was not the object in the civil wars of Rome; and instead of advancing patriotism, they annihilated the small portion that remained of it. Power and riches were the objects, which the grandees were violently bent to acquire *per fas aut nefas*, without the least regard to the public. Every joint of the commonwealth was relaxed, when the power-

ful became greedy of more power ; and it was shaken to pieces by continual struggles among the powerful. Patriotism vanished with the commonwealth : power and riches became the sole objects of pursuit ; and with these every man tempted and was tempted : corruption of every sort spread wide, and venality above all. How depraved must the morals of Rome have been, when Cicero, esteemed its greatest patriot, requested Lucceius to write his history, and to set his conduct in the most advantageous light, without regard to truth. “ I will venture, says he, to en-
“ treat you, not to confine yourself to the
“ strict laws of history ; but to give a la-
“ titude to your encomiums, greater pos-
“ sibly than you think my actions deserve.
“ Let me hope you will not reject the ge-
“ nerous partiality of friendship ; but
“ give somewhat more to affection than to
“ rigorous truth (a).” Yet this was the same Cicero who wrote an excellent book of morals. So little connection is there in some men between the heart and the head.

(a) Cicero's letters, b. i. letter 20.

There is great intricacy in human actions: tho' men are indebted to emulation for their heroic actions, yet such actions never fail to suppress emulation in those who follow. An observation is made above (*a*), that a person of superior genius who damps emulation in others, is a fatal obstruction to the progress of an art: witness the celebrated Newton, to whom the decay of mathematical knowledge in Britain is justly attributed. The observation holds equally with respect to action. Those actions only that flow from patriotism are deemed grand and heroic; and such actions, above all others, rouse a national spirit. But beware of a Newton in heroism: instead of exciting emulation, he will damp it: despair to equal the great men who are the admiration of all men, puts an end to emulation. After the illustrious achievements of Miltiades, and after the eminent patriotism of Aristides, we hear no more in Greece of emulation or of patriotism. Pericles was a man of parts, but he sacrificed Athens to his ambition. The Athenians sunk lower and lower under the Archons, who had neither parts

(*a*) Book 1. sketch 5. § 1.

nor patriotism ; and were reduced at last to slavery, first by the Macedonians, and next by the Romans. The Romans run the same course, from the highest exertions of patriotic emulation, down to the most abject selfishness and effeminacy.

And this leads to other causes that extinguish patriotism; or relax it. Factious disorders in a state never fail to relax it ; for there the citizen is lost, and every person is beheld in the narrow view of a friend or an enemy. In the contests between the Patricians and Plebeians of Rome, the public was totally disregarded : the Plebeians could have no heart-affection for a country where they were oppressed ; and the Patricians might be fond of their own order, but they could not sincerely love their country, while they were enemies to the bulk of their countrymen. Patriotism did not shine forth in Rome, till all equally became citizens. Between the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland and that of the kingdoms, Scotland was greatly depressed : it was governed by a foreign king ; the nobility, tyrants, and the low people, poor and dispirited. There was no patriotism among the former ; and

as little among the latter. Hence it appears, that the opposition in Scotland to the union of the two kingdoms, was absurdly impolitic. The opposition ought to have been against the union of the two crowns, in order to prevent the government of a foreign prince. After being reduced to dependence on another nation, the only remedy was to become one people by an union of the kingdoms.

To support patriotism, it is necessary that a people be in a train of prosperity ; when a nation becomes stationary, patriotism subsides. The ancient Romans upon a small foundation erected a great empire ; so great indeed, that it fell to pieces by its unwieldiness. But the plurality of nations, whether from their situation, from the temper of their people, or from the nature of their government, are confined within narrower limits ; beyond which their utmost exertions avail little, unless they happen to be extraordinary favourites of fortune. When a nation becomes thus stationary, its pushing genius is at an end : its plan is to preserve, not to acquire : the members, even without any example of heroism to damp emulation,

tion, are infected with the languid tone of the state: patriotism subsides; and we hear no more of bold or heroic actions. The Venetians are a pregnant instance of the observation. Their trade with Aleppo and Alexandria did for centuries introduce into Europe the commodities of Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and India. The cities of Nuremberg and Augsburg in particular, were supplied from Venice with these commodities; and by that traffick became populous and opulent. Venice, in a word, was for centuries the capital trading town of Europe, and powerful above all its neighbours, both at sea and land. A passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was indeed an animating discovery to the Portuguese; but it did not entitle them to exclude the Venetians. The greater distance of Venice from the Cape, a trifle in itself, is more than balanced by its proximity to Greece, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and to the rest of Italy. But the Portuguese at that period were in the spring of prosperity; and patriotism ennobled them to make durable establishments on the Indian coast, overpowering every nation in opposition.

The

The Venetians, on the contrary, being a nation of merchants, and having been long successful in commerce, were become stationary, and unqualified for bold adventures. Being cut out of their wonted commerce to India, and not having resolution to carry on commerce in a new channel, they sunk under the good fortune of their rivals, and abandoned the trade altogether. The Russians became a new people under Peter the Great, and are growing daily more and more powerful. The Turks on the contrary have been long in a declining state, and are at present a very degenerate people. Is it wonderful, that during the late war the Turks were no match for the Russians?

No cause hitherto mentioned hath such influence in depressing patriotism, as inequality of rank and of riches in an opulent monarchy. A continual influx of wealth into the capital, generates show, luxury, avarice, which are all selfish vices; and selfishness, enslaving the mind, eradicates every fibre of patriotism*. Asiatic luxury,

* France is not an exception. The French are vain of their country, because they are vain of themselves.

luxury, flowing into Rome in a plentiful stream, produced an universal corruption of manners, and metamorphos'd into voluptuousness the warlike genius of that great city. The dominions of Rome were now too extensive for a republican government, and its generals too powerful to be disinterested. Passion for glory wore out of fashion, as austerity of manners had done formerly: power and riches were now the only objects of ambition: virtue seemed a farce; honour, a chimera; and fame, mere vanity: every Roman, abandoning himself to sensuality, flattered himself, that he, more wise than his forefathers, was pursuing the cunning road to happiness. Corruption and venality became general, and maintained their usurpation in the provinces as well as in the capital, without ever losing a foot of ground. Pyrrhus attempted by presents to corrupt the Roman senators, but made not the slightest impression. Deplorable was the change of manners in the days of Jugurtha: — “Pity it is,” said he, “that

themselves. But such vanity must be distinguished from patriotism, which consists in loving our country independent of ourselves.

“ there

" there should not be a man so opulent as
" to purchase a people so willing to be
" sold." Cicero, mentioning an oracle of
Apollo that Sparta would never be de-
stroy'd but by avarice, justly observes,
that the prediction holds in every nation
as well as in Sparta. The Greek empire,
funk in voluptuousness without a remain-
ing spark of patriotism, was no match for
the Turks, enflamed with a new religion,
that promised paradise to those who should
die fighting for their prophet. How ma-
ny nations, like those mentioned, illustri-
ous formerly for vigour of mind and love
to their country, are now sunk by con-
temptible vices as much below brutes as
they ought to be elevated above them :
brutes seldom deviate from the perfection
of their nature, men frequently.

Successful commerce is not more advan-
tageous by the wealth and power it im-
mediately bestows, than it is hurtful ulti-
mately by introducing luxury and volup-
tuousness, which eradicate patriotism. In
the capital of a great monarchy, the poi-
son of opulence is sudden ; because opu-
lence there is seldom acquired by repu-
table means : the poison of commer-
cial

opulence is slow, because commerce seldom enriches without industry, sagacity, and fair dealing. But by whatever means acquired, opulence never fails soon or late to smother patriotism under sensuality and selfishness. We learn from Plutarch and other writers, that the Athenians, who had long enjoy'd the sunshine of commerce, were extremely corrupt in the days of Philip, and of his son Alexander. Even their chief patriot and orator, a professed champion for independence, was not proof against bribes. While Alexander was prosecuting his conquests in India, Harpalus, to whom his immense treasure was intrusted, fled with the whole to Athens. Demosthenes advised his fellow-citizens to expell him, that they might not incur Alexander's displeasure. Among other things of value, there was the King's cup of massy gold, curiously engraved. Demosthenes, surveying it with a greedy eye, asked Harpalus what it weighed. To you, said Harpalus smiling, it shall weigh twenty talents; and that very night he sent privately to Demosthenes twenty talents with the cup. Demosthenes next day came into the assembly with a cloth.

rolled about his neck ; and his opinion being demanded about Harpalus, he made signs that he had lost his voice. The Capuans, the Tarentines, and other Greek colonies in the lower parts of Italy, when invaded by the Romans, were no less degenerate than their brethren in Greece when invaded by Philip of Macedon ; the same depravation of manners, the same luxury, the same passion for feasts and spectacles, the same intestine factions, the same indifference about their country, and the same contempt of its laws. The Portuguese, enflamed with love to their country, having discovered a passage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, made great and important settlements in that very distant part of the globe ; and of their immense commerce there is no parallel in any age or country. Prodigious riches in gold, precious stones, spices, perfumes, drugs, and manufactures, were annually imported into Lisbon from their settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, from the kingdoms of Camboya, Decan, Malacca, Patana, Siam, China, &c. from the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Jaya, Bornco, Moluccas, and Japan : and

to

to Lisbon all the nations in Europe resort-
ed for these valuable commodities. But
the downfall of the Portuguese was no less
rapid than their exaltation; unbounded
power and immense wealth having produ-
ced a total corruption of manners. If sin-
cere piety, exalted courage, and indefati-
gable industry, made the original adven-
turers more than men; indolence, sensua-
lity, and effeminacy, rendered their suc-
cessors less than women. Unhappy it was
for them to be attacked at that critical
time by the Dutch, who, in defence of li-
berty against the tyranny of Spain, were
enflamed with love to their country, as the
Portuguese had been formerly *. The
Dutch, originally from their situation a

* While patriotism was the ruling passion of the Portuguese, their illustrious general Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque carried all before him in the Indies. He adhered to the ancient frugality of his countrymen, and notwithstanding his great power and wealth, remained uncorrupted. Tho' liberal in praising his officers, he never preferred any who attempted to gain his favour by flattery. In private life he was of the strictest honour; but as justice is little regarded between nations, it was no obstruction to his ambitious views of extending the dominions of Portugal.

temperate and industrious people, became heroes in the cause of liberty ; and patriotism was their ruling passion. Prosperous commerce diffused wealth through every corner ; and yet such was the inherent virtue of that people, that their patriotism resisted very long the contagion of wealth. But as appetite for riches increases with their quantity, patriotism funk in proportion, till it was totally extinguished ; and now the Dutch never think of their country, unless as subservient to private interest. With respect to the Dutch East-India company in particular, it was indebted for its prosperity to the fidelity and frugality of its servants, and to the patriotism of all. But these virtues were undermined and at last eradicated by luxury, which Europeans seldom resist in a hot climate. People go from Europe in the service of the company, bent beforehand to make their fortune *per fas aut nefas*; and their distance from their masters renders every check abortive. The company, eaten up by its servants, is rendered so feeble, as to be incapable of maintaining its ground against any extraordinary shock. A war of any continuance with the Indian poten-

tates

tates or with the English company, would reduce it to bankruptcy. Is the English East-India company in a much better condition? Such is the rise and fall of patriotism among the nations mentioned; and such will be its rise and fall among all nations in like circumstances.

It grieves me, that the epidemic distempers of luxury and selfishness are spreading wide in Britain. It is fruitless to dissemble, that profligate manners must in Britain be a consequence of great opulence, as they have been in every other part of the globe. Our late distractions leave no room for a doubt. Listen to a man of figure, thoroughly acquainted with every machination for court-preferment. "Very little attachment is discoverable in the body of our people to our excellent constitution: no reverence for the customs nor for the opinions of our ancestors; no attachment but to private interest, nor any zeal but for selfish gratifications. While party-distinctions of Whig and Tory, high church and low church, court and country, subsisted, the nation was indeed divided, but each side held an opinion, for which they would

" would have hazarded every thing; for
" both acted from principle: if there were
" some who sought to alter the constitu-
" tion, there were many who would have
" spilt their blood to preserve it from vio-
" lation: if divine hereditary right had
" its partisans, there were multitudes to
" stand up for the superior sanctity of a
" title, founded on an act of parliament
" and the consent of a free people. But
" the abolition of party-names hath de-
" stroy'd all public principles. The
" power of the crown was indeed never
" more visibly extensive over the great
" men of the nation; but then these
" men have lost their influence over the
" lower orders: even parliament has lost
" much of its authority; and the voice of
" the multitude is set up against the sense
" of the legislature: an impoverished and
" heavily-burdened public, a people luxu-
" rious and licentious, impatient of rule,
" and despising all authority, government
" relaxed in every sinew, and a corrupt
" selfish spirit pervading the whole (a) *."

It

(a) The Honourable George Greenville.

*. Philip of Macedon, a prince of great ambition,

had

It is a common observation, that when the belly is full, the mind is at ease. That observation, it would appear, holds not in
London;

had unhappily for his neighbours great power and great talents to put his designs in execution. During the whole course of his reign, it was his favourite object to bring the Greek states under subjection, particularly that of Athens, which he the most dreaded. Athens was in a perilous situation, standing on the very brink of ruin ; and yet at that very time, a number of its citizens, men of rank, were so insensible to the distresses of their country, as to form themselves into a club, for feasting, drinking, gaming, and for every sort of sensual pleasure. It was made a rule that nothing ought to disturb the mirth or jollity of the society. They saw with indifference their countrymen arming for battle ; and with the same indifference, they heard every day of the death or captivity of their fellow-citizens. Did there ever exist such wretches in human shape ? Reader, spare thy indignation to vent it on wretches still more detestable. They are at hand : they are in sight. Behold men who term themselves Britons, fomenting a dangerous rebellion in our colonies, and sacrificing their native country to a feverish desire of power and opulence. How virtuous in comparison the Athenian club ! But reader, banish such wretches from thy thoughts : they will sour thy temper. Deliver them over to self-condemnation : if they have any conscience left, the punishment will be severe. Wish them repentance. Extend that wish to the arch traitor, now on deathbed,

torn

London ; for never in any other place did riot and licentiousness rise to such a height, without a cause, and without even a plausible pretext *.

It is deplorable, that in English public schools, patriotism makes no branch of education : young men, on the contrary, are trained up to selfishness. *Keep what you get, and get what you can*, is a lesson that boys learn early at Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton ; and it is the lesson that perhaps takes the fastest hold of them. Students put themselves in the way of receiving vails from strangers ; and that dirty practice continues, tho' far more poisonous to manners than the giving vails to menial servants, which the nation is now ashamed of. The Eaton scholars are at times sent to the highway to rob passengers. The strong without control tyrannize over the weak, subjecting them to

torn to pieces with bodily diseases, and still more with those of the mind.

Lord C—— if thou think'st on heaven's bliss,
Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.
He dies, and makes no sign !

[*This was composed August 1775.*]

* This was composed in the year 1770.

very servile office, wiping shoes not excepted. They are permitted to trick and deceive one another ; and the finest fellow is he who is the most artful. Friendship indeed is cultivated, but such as we find among robbers : a boy would be run down, if he had no associate. I do not say, and am far from thinking, that such manners are inculcated by the masters ; but I say, and am sorry to say, that nothing is done to prevent or correct them.

When a nation, formerly warlike and public-spirited, is depressed by luxury and selfishness, doth nature afford no means for restoring it to its former state ? The Emperor Hadrian declared the Greeks a free people ; not doubting, but that a change so animating, would restore the fine arts to their pristine lustre.—A vain attempt : for the genius of the Greeks vanished with their patriotism ; and liberty to them was no blessing. With respect to the Portuguese, the decay of their power and of their commerce, hath reduced them to a much lower state, than when they rose as it were out of nothing. At that time they were poor, but innocent : at present they are poor, but corrupted with many vices.

Their pride in particular swells as high as when masters of the Indies. The following ridiculous instance is a pregnant proof: shoes and stockings are prohibited to their Indian subjects; tho' many of them would pay handsomely for the privilege. There is one obvious measure for reviving the Portuguese trade in India; but they have not so much vigour of mind remaining, as even to think of it. They still possess in that country, the town and territory of Goa, the town and territory of Diu, with some other ports, all admirably situated for trade. What stands in the way but indolence merely, against declaring the places mentioned free ports, with liberty of conscience to traders of whatever religion? Free traders flocking there, under protection of the Portuguese, would undermine the Dutch and English companies, which cannot trade upon an equal footing with private merchants; and by that means, the Portuguese trade might again flourish. But that people are not yet brought so low as to be compelled to change their manners, tho' reduced to depend on their neighbours even for common necessaries: the gold and diamonds

of Brasil, are a plague that corrupts all. Spain and Portugal afford instructive political lessons: the latter has been ruined by opulence; the former, as will be seen afterward, by taxes no less impolitic than oppressive. To enable these nations to re-commence their former course, or any nation in the same condition, I can discover no means but pinching poverty. Commerce and manufactures taking wing, may leave a country in a very distressed condition: but a people may be very distressed, and yet very vicious; for vices generated by opulence are not soon eradicated. And tho' other vices should at last vanish with the temptations that promoted them, indolence and pusillanimity will remain for ever, unless by some powerful cause the opposite virtues be introduced. A very poor man, however indolent, will be tempted for bread to exert some activity; and he may be trained gradually from less to more by the same means. Activity at the same time produces bodily strength; which will restore courage and boldness. By such means a nation may be put in motion with the same advantages it had originally; and its second progress may

prove as successful as the first. Thus nations go round in a circle; the first part of the progress is verified in a thousand instances; but the world has not subsisted long enough to afford any clear instance of the other *.

I

* The following letter I had from a gentleman, who, tho' at Lisbon for the sake of health, neglects no opportunity to increase his stock of knowledge.

" Nothing but ocular demonstration could have
" convinced me that the human species may be de-
" praved to the degree that is exemplified in this
" country. Whether with regard to politics, mo-
" rals, arts, or social intercourse, it is equally de-
" fective. In short, excepting the mere elementary
" benefits of earth and air, this country is in the low-
" est state. Will you believe that I found not a single
" man who could inform me of the price of land,
" very few who had any notion to what value the
" product of their country extends, or of its colonies.
" No one able to point out the means of reviving
" Portugal from its present desponding condition.
" With respect to a general plan of legislation, there
" is none; unless the caprices of an ignorant despot
" may be called such, or the projects of a designing
" minister, constantly endeavouring to depress the
" nobility and to beggar the other orders of the
" state. This the Marquis Pombal has at length
" completed. He has left the crown possessed of
" a third part of the land-property, the church en-
" joying another third, the remainder left to an
" indigent

I close this sketch with two illustrious examples of patriotism ; one ancient, one modern ; one among the whites, one among the blacks. Aristides the Athenian is famed above all the ancients for love to his country. Its safety and honour were

" indigent nobility and their vassals. He has sub-
" jected every branch of commerce to ministerial e-
" moluments ; and fixed judicial proceedings, both
" civil and criminal, on the fluctuating basis of his
" own interest or inclination. Take an instance of
" their law. A small proprietor having land ad-
" joining to or intermixed with the land of a great-
" er proprietor, is obliged to sell his possession, if
" the other wishes to have it. In the case of several
" competitors to the succession of land, it is the en-
" deavour of each to seize the possession, well know-
" ing that possession is commonly held the best title ;
" and at any rate, that there is no claim for rents
" during the time of litigation. All the corn grow-
" ing in Estremadura must be sold at Lisbon. A
" tenth of all sales, rents, wages, &c. goes to the
" King. These instances are I think sufficient to
" give a notion of the present state of the kingdom,
" and of the merits of Pombal, who has long had
" the reins in his hands as first minister, who may
" justly boast of having freed his countrymen from
" the dread of becoming more wretched than they
" are at present. It gave me satisfaction to find the
" doctrines of the Sketches finely illustrated in the
" history of this singular kingdom. I am," &c.

the only objects of his ambition ; and his signal disinterestedness made it the same to him, whether these ends were accomplished by himself or by others, by his friends or his foes. One conspicuous instance occurred before the battle of Marathon. Of the ten generals chosen to command the Athenian army, he was one : but sensible that a divided command is subjected to manifold inconveniences, he exerted all his influence for Miltiades ; and at the same time, zealously supported a proposal of Miltiades to meet the Persians in the field. His disinterestedness was still more conspicuous with regard to Themistocles, his bitter enemy. Suspending all enmity, he cordially agreed with him in every operation of the war ; assisting him with his counsel and credit, and yet suffering him to engross all the honour. In peace he was the same, yielding to Themistocles in the administration of government, and contenting himself with a subordinate place. In the senate and in the assembly of the people, he made many proposals in a borrowed name, to prevent envy and opposition. He retired from public business at the latter part of his life ; passing his time

time in training young men for serving the state, instilling into them principles of honour and virtue, and inspiring them with love to their country. His death unfolded a signal proof of the contempt he had for riches : he who had been treasurer of Greece during the lavishment of war, did not leave money sufficient to defray the expence of his funerals : a British commissary, in like circumstances, acquires the riches of Croesus.

The scene of the other example is Fouli, a negro kingdom in Africa. Such regard is paid there to royal blood, that no man can succeed to the crown, but who is connected with the first monarch, by an uninterrupted chain of females : a connection by males would give no security, as the women of that country are prone to gallantry. In the last century, the Prince of Sambaboa, the King's nephew by his sister, was invested with the dignity of Kamalingo, a dignity appropriated to the presumptive heir. A liberal and generous mind with undaunted courage, rivetted him in the affections of the nobility and people. They rejoiced in the expectation

of

of having him for their King. But their expectation was blasted. The King, fond of his children, ventured a bold measure, which was, to invest his eldest son with the dignity of Kamalingo, and to declare him heir to the crown. Tho' the Prince of Sambaboa had for him the laws of the kingdom and the hearts of the people, yet he retired in silence to avoid a civil war. He could not however prevent men of rank from flocking to him ; which being interpreted a rebellion, the King raised an army, vowing to put them all to the sword. As the King advanced, the Prince retired, resolving not to draw his sword against an uncle, whom he was accustomed to call father. But finding that the command of the army was bestow'd on his rival, he made ready for battle. The Prince obtained a complete victory : but his heart was not elated. The horrors of a civil war, stared him in the face : he bid farewell to his friends, dismissed his army, and retired into a neighbouring kingdom ; relying on the affections of the people, to be placed on the throne after his uncle's death. During banishment, which con-

tinued thirty tedious years, frequent attempts upon his life put his temper to a severe trial; for while he existed, the King had no hopes that his son would reign in peace. He had the fortitude to surmount every trial; when, in the year 1702, beginning to yield to age and misfortunes, his uncle died. His cousin was deposed; and he was called by the unanimous voice of the nobles, to reign over a people who adored him.

S K E T C H VIII,

Finances.

P R E F A C E.

*I*N the following slight essay, intended for novices only, it satisfies my ambition, to rival certain pains-taking authors, who teach history in the perspicuous mode of question and answer. Among novices, it would be unpardonable to rank such of my fellow-citizens, as are ambitious of a seat in parliament ; many of whom sacrifice the inheritance of their ancestors, for an opportunity to exert their patriotism in that august assembly. Can such a sacrifice permit me to doubt, of their being adepts in the mysteries of government, and of taxes in particular ? they ought at least to be initiated in these mysteries.

It is of importance, that taxes and their effects be understood, not only by the members of our parliament, but by their electors : a representative

presentative will not readily vote for a destructive tax, when he cannot hope to disguise his conduct. The intention of the present sketch, is to unfold the principles upon which taxes ought to be founded, and to point out what are beneficial, what noxious. I have endeavoured to introduce some light into a subject involved in Egyptian darkness ; and if that end be attained, I shall die in the faith that I have not been an unprofitable servant to my country.

Finances.

This subject consists of many parts, not a little intricate. A proper distribution will tend to perspicuity; and I think it may be fitly divided into the following sections. 1st, General considerations on taxes. 2d, Power of imposing taxes. 3d, Different sorts of taxes, with their advantages and disadvantages. 4th, Manner of levying taxes. 5th, Rules to be observed in taxing. 6th, Taxes examined with respect to their effects. 7th, Taxes for advancing industry and commerce.

SECTION I.

General Considerations on Taxes.

AS opulence is not friendly to study and knowledge, the men best qualified for being generals, admirals, judges, or ministers

ministers of state, are seldom opulent ; and to make such men serve without pay, would be in effect to ease the rich at the expence of the poor. With respect to the military branch in particular, the bulk of those who compose an army, if withdrawn from daily labour, must starve, unless the public which they serve afford them maintenance. A republican government, during peace, may indeed be supported at a very small charge, among a temperate and patriotic people. In a monarchy, a public fund is indispensable, even during peace : and in war it is indispensable, whatever be the government. The Spartans carried all before them in Greece, but were forc'd to quit their hold, having no fund for a standing army ; and the other Greek states were obliged to confederate with the Athenians, who had a public fund, and who after the Persian war became masters at sea. A defect so obvious in the Spartan government, did assuredly not escape Lycurgus, the most profound of all legislators. Foreseeing that conquest would be destructive to his countrymen, his sole purpose was to guard them from being conquered ; which in

Sparta

Sparta required no public fund, as all the citizens were equal, and equally bound to defend themselves and their country. A state, it is true, without a public fund, is ill qualified to oppose a standing army, regularly disciplined, and regularly paid. But in political matters, experience is our only sure guide ; and the history of nations, at that early period, was too barren to afford instruction. Lycurgus may well be excused, considering how little progress political knowledge had made in a much later period. Charles VII. of France, was the first in modern times who established a fund for a standing army. Against that dangerous innovation, the crown-vassals had no resource but to imitate their sovereign ; and yet, without even dreaming of a resource, they suffered themselves to be undermined, and at last overturned, by the King their superior. Thus, on the one hand, a nation however warlike that has not a public fund, is no match for a standing army enured to war : extensive commerce, on the other hand, enables a nation to support a standing army ; but by introducing luxury it eradicates manhood, and renders that

that army an unfit match for any poor and warlike invader. Hard may seem the fate of nations, laid thus open to destruction from every quarter. All that can be said is, that such vicissitudes seem to enter into the scheme of providence.

The stability of land fits it, above all other subjects, for a public patrimony. But as crown-lands lie open to the rapacity of favourites, it becomes necessary, when these are dissipated, to introduce taxes; which have the following properties, that they unite in one common interest the sovereign and his subjects, and that they can be augmented or diminished according to exigencies.

The art of levying money by taxes was so little understood in the sixteenth century, that after the famous battle of Pavia, in which the French King was made prisoner, Charles V. was obliged to disband his victorious army, tho' consisting but of 24,000 men, because he had not the art to levy, in his extensive dominions, a sum necessary to keep it on foot. So little knowledge was there in England of political arithmetic in the days of Edward III. that L. 1 : 2 : 4 on each parish was computed

puted to be sufficient for raising a subsidy of L. 50,000. It being found, that there were but 8700 parishes, exclusive of Wales, the parliament, in order to raise the said subsidy, assessed on each parish L. 5, 16 s.

In imposing taxes, ought not the expence of living to be deducted, and to consider the remainder as the only taxable subject? This mode was adopted in the state of Athens. A rent of 500 measures of corn, burdened the landlord with the yearly contribution of a talent: a rent of 300, burdened him with half a talent: a rent of 200, burdened him with the sixth part of a talent; and land under that rent paid no tax. Here the tax was not in proportion to the estate, but to what could be spared out of it; or, in other words, in proportion to the ability of the proprietor. At the same time, ability must not be estimated by what a man actually saves, which would exempt the profuse and profligate from paying taxes, but by what a man can pay who lives with economy according to his rank. This rule is founded on the very nature of government: to tax a man's food, or the subject that affords him bare necessaries, is worse than

the denying him protection: it starves him. Hence the following proposition may be laid down as the corner-stone of taxation - building, "That every man "ought to contribute to the public re- "venue, not in proportion to his sub- "stance, but to his ability." I am sorry to observe, that this rule is little regarded in British taxes; tho' nothing would contribute more to sweeten the minds of the people and to make them fond of their government, than a regulation fraught with so much equity.

Taxes were long in use before it was discovered, that they could be made subservient to other purposes, beside that of supporting government. In the fifteenth century, the states of Burgundy rejected with indignation a demand made by the Duke, of a duty on salt; tho' they found no other objection, but that it would oppress the poor people, who lived mostly on salt meat and salt fish. It did not occur to them, that such a tax might hurt their manufactures, by raising the price of labour. A tax of two shillings on every hearth, known by the name of *hearth-money*, was granted to Charles II. his heirs

and successors, for ever. It was abrogated by an act of William and Mary, ann. 1688, on the following preamble, " That " it is not only a great oppression upon " the poorer sort, but a badge of slavery " upon the whole people, exposing every " man's house to be entered into and " searched at pleasure, by persons un- " known to him." Had the harm done by such a tax to our manufactures been at that time understood, it would have been urged as the capital reason against it. Our late improvements in commercial politics have unfolded an important doctrine, That taxes are seldom indifferent to the public good ; that frequently they are more oppressive to the people, than beneficial to the sovereign ; and, on the other hand, that they may be so contrived, as to rival bounties in promoting industry, manufactures, and commerce. These different effects of taxes, have rendered the subject not a little intricate.

It is an article of importance in government, to have it ascertained, what proportion of the annual income of a nation may be drawn from the people by taxes, without impoverishing them. An eighth part

is held to be too much: husbandry, commerce, and population, would suffer. Davenant says, that the Dutch pay to the public annually, the fourth part of the income of their country; and he adds, that their strict economy enables them to bear that immense load, without raising the price of labour so high as to cut them out of the foreign market. It was probably so in the days of Davenant; but of late, matters are much altered: the dearness of living and of labour, has excluded all the Dutch manufactures from the foreign market. Till the French war in King William's reign, England paid in taxes but about a twentieth part of its annual income.

S E C T. II.

Power of imposing Taxes.

THAT to impose taxes belongs to the sovereign, and to him only, is undoubted. But it has been doubted, whether even King and parliament, who pos-

fess the sovereign authority in Britain, can legally impose a tax without consent of the people. The celebrated Locke, in his essay on government (*a*), lays down the following proposition as fundamental.

" 'Tis true, governments cannot be supported without great charge: and 'tis fit every one who enjoys his share of protection should pay out of his estate his proportion for the maintenance of it. But still it must be with his own consent, *i. e.* the consent of the majority, giving it either by themselves, or their representatives chosen by them; for if any one shall claim a power to lay and levy taxes on the people by his own authority, and without such consent of the people, he thereby invades the fundamental law of property, and subverts the end of government. For what property have I in that which another may by right take when he pleases to himself?" No author has reflected more honour on his native country, and on mankind, than Mr Locke. Yet no name is above truth; and I am obliged to observe, tho' with regret, that in the forego-

(*a*) Chap. II. § 140.

ing reasoning the right of imposing taxes is laid upon a very crazy foundation. It may indeed be said with some colour, that the freeholders virtually empower their representatives to tax them. But their vassals and tenants, who have no vote in electing members of parliament, empower none to tax them: yet they are taxed like others; and so are the vassals and tenants of peers. Add to these an immense number of artisans, manufacturers, day-labourers, domestics, &c. &c. with the whole female sex; and it will appear, that those who are represented in parliament, make not the hundredth part of the taxable people. But further, it is acknowledged by our author, that the majority of the Lords and Commons must bind the minority. This circumstance might have opened his eyes: for surely the minority in this case are bound without their consent; nay, against their consent. That a state cannot tax its subjects without their consent, is a rash proposition, totally subversive of government. Locke himself has suggested the solid foundation of taxes, tho' inadvertently he lays no weight on it. I borrow his own words: "That every

“ one

" one who enjoys his share of protection,
" should pay out of his estate his propor-
" tion for the maintenance of the govern-
" ment." The duties of sovereign and of
subject are reciprocal; and common ju-
stice requires, that a subject, or any per-
son who is protected by a government,
ought to pay for that protection. Similar
instances without number of such recipro-
cal duties, occur in the laws of every civi-
lized nation. A man calls for meat and
drink in a tavern: is he not bound to pay,
tho' he made no agreement beforehand?
A man wafted over a river in a ferry-boat,
must pay the common fare, though he
made no promise. Nay, it is every man's
interest to pay for protection: government
cannot subsist without a public fund; and
what will become of individuals, when
left open to every rapacious invader?
Thus taxes are implied in the very nature
of government; and the interposition of
sovereign authority, is only necessary for
determining the expediency of a tax; and
the quota, if found expedient.

Many writers, misled by the respectable
authority of Locke, boldly maintain, that
a British parliament cannot legally tax the

American

American colonies, who are not represented in parliament. This proposition, which has drawn the attention of the public of late years has led me to be more explicit on the power of imposing taxes, than otherwise would be necessary. Those who favour the independence of our colonies urge, " That a man ought to have the disposal of what he acquires by honest industry, subject to no control: whence the necessity of a parliament for imposing taxes, where every individual is either personally present, or by a representative of his own election. The aid accordingly given to a British sovereign, is not a tribute, but a free and voluntary gift." What is said above will bring the dispute within a very narrow compass. If our colonists be British subjects, which hitherto has not been controverted, they are subjected to the British legislature in every article of government; and as from the beginning they have been protected by Britain, they ought like other subjects to pay for that protection. There never was a time less favourable to their claim of freedom from taxes, than the close of the late war with France. Had not

not Britain seasonably interposed, they would have been swallow'd up by France, and become slaves to despotism.

If it be questioned, By what acts is a man understood to claim protection of a government; I answer, By setting his foot within the territory. If, upon landing at Dover, a foreigner be robbed, the law interposes for him as for a native. And as he is thus protected, he pays for protection when he purchases a pair of shooes, or a bottle of beer. The case is clear, with respect to a man who can chuse the place of his residence. But what shall be said of children, who are not capable of choice, nor of consent? They are protected; and protection implies the reciprocal duty of paying taxes. As soon as a young man is capable of acting for himself, he is at liberty to chuse other protectors, if those who have hitherto protected him be not to his taste.

If a legal power to impose taxes without consent of the people, did necessarily imply a legal power to impose taxes at pleasure, without limitation, Locke's argument would be invincible, in a country of freedom at least. A power to impose taxes

at pleasure, would indeed be an invasion of the fundamental law of property; because, under pretext of taxing, it would subject every man's property to the arbitrary will of the sovereign. But the argument has no weight, where the sovereign's power is limited. The reciprocal duties between sovereign and subject imply, that the people ought to contribute what sums are necessary for the support of government, and that the sovereign ought not to demand more. It is true, that there is no regular check against him, when he transgresses his duty in this particular: but there is an effectual check in the nature of every government that is not legally despotic, viz. a general concert among all ranks, to vindicate their liberty against a course of violence and oppression; and multiplied acts of that kind have more than once brought about such a concert.

As every member of the body-politic is under protection of the government, every one of them, as observed above, ought to pay for being protected; and yet this proposition has been controverted by an author of some note (*a*); who maintains,

(*a*) *L'ami des hommes.*

" That the food and raiment furnished to
" the society by husbandmen and manu-
" facturers, are all that these good people
" are bound to contribute : and supposing
" them bound to contribute more, it is not
" till others have done as much for the
" public." At that rate, lawyers and
physicians ought also to be exempted from
contributing ; especially those who draw
the greatest sums, because they are suppo-
sed to do the most good. That argument,
the suggestion of a benevolent heart, is no
proof of an enlightened understanding.
The labours of the farmer, of the lawyer,
of the physician, contribute not a mite to
the public fund, nor tend to defray the ex-
pence of government. The luxurious pro-
prietor of a great estate has a still better
title to be exempted than the husband-
man ; because he is a great benefactor to
the public, by giving bread to a variety
of industrious people. In a word, every
man ought to contribute for being pro-
tected ; and if a husbandman be protected
in working for himself one-and-fifty weeks
yearly, he ought thankfully to work one
week more, for defraying the expence of
that protection.

S E C T. III.

Different Sorts of Taxes, with their Advantages and Disadvantages.

ALL taxes are laid upon persons ; but in different respects : a tax laid on a man personally, for himself and family, is termed a *capitation-tax* ; a tax laid on him for his property, is termed a *tax on goods*. The latter is the only rational tax, because it may be proportioned to the ability of the proprietor. It has only one inconvenience, that his debts must be overlooked ; because to take these into the account, would lead to endless intricacies. But there is an obvious remedy for that inconvenience : let the man who complains free himself of debt, by selling land or moveables ; which will so far relieve him of the tax. Nor ought this measure to be considered as a hardship : it is seldom the interest of a landholder to be in debt ; and with respect to the public, the measure

not only promotes the circulation of property, but is favourable to creditors, by procuring their payment. A capitation-tax goes upon an erroneous principle, as if all men were of equal ability. What prompts it is, that many men, rich in bonds and other moveables that can easily be hid from public inspection, cannot be reached otherwise than by a capitation-tax. But as, by the very supposition, such men cannot be distinguished from the mass of the people, that mode of taxing, miserably unequal, is rarely practised among enlightened nations. Russia labours under a capitation-tax. Some years ago, a capitation-tax was imposed in Denmark, obliging even day-labourers to pay for their wives and children. Upon the same absurd plan, a tax was imposed on marriage. One would be tempted to think, that population was intended to be discouraged. The Danish ministry have been sensible of the impropriety of such taxes; for a tax imposed on those who obtain titles of honour from the crown, is applied for relieving husbandmen of their capitation-tax. But a tax of this kind lies open to many other objections. It cannot fail to raise
the

the price of labour, a poisonous effect in a country of industry; for the labourer will relieve himself of the tax, by heightening his wages: more prudent it would be to lay the tax directly on the employer, which would remove the pretext for heightening wages. The taxing of day-labourers, whether by capitation or in any other manner, has beside an effect contrary to what is intended: instead of increasing the public revenue, it virtually lessens it, by raising the pay of soldiers, sailors, and of every workman employ'd by government.

Taxes upon goods are of two kinds, viz. upon things consumable, and upon things not consumable. I begin with the latter. The land-tax in Britain, paid by the proprietor according to an invariable rule, and levied with very little expence, is of all taxes the most just, and the most effectual. The proprietor, knowing beforehand the sum he is subjected to, prepares accordingly: and as each proprietor contributes in proportion to his estate, the tax makes no variation in their relative opulence. The only improvement it is susceptible of, is the Athenian regulation, of exempting small estates that are no more than sufficient

cient to afford bread to the frugal proprietor. In France, the land-tax seems to have been established on a very false foundation, viz. That the clergy perform their duty to the state by praying and instructing, that the noblesse fight for the state; and consequently, that the only duty left to the farmer, is to defray the charges of government. This argument would hold, if the clergy were not paid for praying, nor the noblesse for fighting. Such a load upon the poorest members of the state, is an absurdity in politics. And to render it still more absurd, the tax on the farmer is not imposed by an invariable rule: every one is taxed in proportion to his apparent circumstances, which in effect is to tax industry. Nor is this all. Under pretext of preventing famine, the exporting of corn, even from province to province, is frequently interrupted; by which it happens, that the corn of a plentiful year is destroy'd by insects, and in a year of scarcity is engrossed by merchants. Suppose a plan were desiderated for discouraging agriculture, here is one actually put in execution, the success of which is infallible. "Were it related," observes a French

French writer, “in some foreign history, “ that there is a country extremely fertile, “ in a fine climate, enjoying navigable “ rivers, with every advantage for the “ commerce of corn; and yet that the “ product is not sufficient for the inhabi-“ tants: would not one conclude the peo-“ ple to be stupid and barbarous? And “ yet this is the case of France.” He adds the true reason, which is, the discouragement husbandry lies under by oppressive taxes. We have Diodorus Siculus for our authority, that the husbandman was greatly respected in Hindostan. Among other nations, says he, the land during war lies untilled; but in Hindostan, husbandmen are sacred, and no soldier ventures to lay a hand on them. They are considered as servants of the public, who cannot be dispensed with.

It is a gross error to maintain, that a tax on land is the same with a tax on the product of land. The former, which is the English mode, is no discouragement to industry and improvements: on the contrary, the higher the value of land is raised, the less will the tax be in proportion. The latter, which is the French mode,

mode, is a great discouragement to industry and improvements; because the more a man improves, the deeper he is taxed. The tenth part of the product of land, is the only tax that is paid in China. This tax, of the same nature with the tithe paid among us to the clergy, yields to the British mode of taxing the land itself, and not its product; but is less exceptionable than the land-tax in France, because it is not arbitrary. The Chinese tax, paid in kind, is stored in magazines, and sold from time to time for maintaining the magistrates and the army, the surplus being remitted to the treasury. In case of famine, it is sold to the poor people at a moderate price. In Tonquin, there is a land-tax, which, like that in France, is laid upon the peasants, exempting people of condition, and the literati in particular. Many grounds that bear not corn, contribute hay for the king's elephants and cavalry; which the poor peasants are obliged to carry to the capital, even from the greatest distance; a regulation no less injudicious than slavish.

The window-tax, the coach-tax, and the plate-tax, come under the present head, being taxes upon things not consumable.

In Holland horses are taxed ; and there is a tax on domestic servants, which deserves well to be imitated. Vanity in Britain, and love of show, have multiplied domestics, far beyond necessity, and even beyond convenience. A number of idlers collected in a luxurious family, become vicious and debauched ; and many useful hands are withdrawn from husbandry and manufactures. In order that the tax may reach none but the vain and splendid, those who have but one servant pay nothing : two domestics subject the master to five shillings for each, three to ten shillings for each, four to twenty shillings, five to forty shillings, and so on in a geometrical progression. In Denmark, a farmer is taxed for every plough he uses. If the tax be intended for discouraging extensive farms, it is a happy contrivance, agreeable to sound policy ; for small farms increase the number of temperate and robust people, fit for every sort of labour.

Next of taxes upon things consumable. The taxes that appear the least oppressive, because disguised, are what are laid on our manufactures : the tax is advanced by the manufacturer, and drawn from the pur-

chaser as part of the price. In Rome, a tax was laid upon every man who purchased a slave. It is reported by some authors, that the tax was remitted by the Emperor Nero; and yet no alteration was made, but to oblige the vender to advance the tax. Hear Tacitus on that subject (*a*).

“ Vectigal quintæ et vicesimæ venalium
“ mancipiorum remissum, specie magis
“ quam vi; quia cum venditor pendere
“ juberetur, in partem pretii emptoribus
“ accrescebat *.” Thus, with respect to our taxes on soap, shoes, candles, and other things consumable, the purchaser thinks he is only paying the price, and never dreams that he is paying a tax. To support the illusion, the duty ought to be moderate: to impose a tax twenty times the value of the commodity, as is done in France with respect to salt, raises more disgust in the people as an attempt to deceive them, than when laid on without disguise. Such exorbitant taxes, which

* “ The tax of a twenty-fifth upon slaves to be sold, was remitted more in appearance than in reality; because when the seller was ordered to pay it, he laid it upon the price to the buyer.”

are paid with the utmost reluctance, cannot be made effectual but by severe penalties, equal to what are inflicted on the most atrocious criminals; which at the same time has a bad effect with respect to morals, as it blends great and small crimes together, and tends to lessen the horror one naturally conceives at the former.

Such taxes are attended with another signal advantage: they bear a proportion to the ability of the contributors, the opulent being commonly the greatest consumers. The taxes on coaches and on plate are paid by men of fortune, without loading the industrious poor; and on that account are excellent: being imposed however without disguise, they are paid with more reluctance by the rich, than taxes on consumption are by the poor.

I add one other advantage of taxes on consumption. They are finely contrived to connect the interest of the sovereign with that of his subjects; for his profit arises from their prosperity.

Such are the advantages of a tax on consumption; but it must not be praised, as attended with no inconvenience. The retailer, under pretext of the tax, raises the

price higher than barely to indemnify himself; by which means, the tax is commonly doubled on the consumer. The inconvenience however is but temporary. "Such extortion," says Davenant, "cannot last long; for every commodity in common use finds in the market its true value and price."

There is another inconvenience much more distressing, because it admits not a remedy, and because it affects the state itself. Taxes on consumption, being commonly laid on things of the greatest use, raise a great sum to the public, without much burdening individuals; the duty on coal, for example, on candle, on leather, on soap, on salt, on malt, and on malt-liquor. These duties however carry in their bosom a slow poison, by raising the price of labour and of manufactures. De Wit observes, that the Dutch taxes upon consumption have raised the price of their broad cloth forty *per cent.*; and our manufactures by the same means are raised at least thirty *per cent.* Britain has long laboured under this chronical distemper; which, by excluding her from foreign markets, will not only put an end to her

own manufactures, but will open a wide door to the foreign, as smuggling cannot be prevented where commodities imported are much cheaper than our own. The Dutch taxes on consumption are exceedingly high ; and yet necessary, not only for defraying the expence of government, but for guarding their frontier, and above all for keeping out the sea ! The industry however and frugality of the people, enable them to bear that heavy burden without murmuring. But other European nations have now acquired a share of the immense commerce formerly carried on by the Dutch alone. Their trade accordingly is on the decline ; and when it sinks a little lower, the heavy taxes will undoubtedly depopulate their country.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that taxes on consumption are not equally proper in every case. They are proper in a populous country, like Holland ; because the expence of collecting is but a trifle, compared with the sums collected. But in a country thinly peopled, such taxes are improper ; because the expence of collecting, makes too great a proportion of the sums collected ; in the highlands of Scotland,

Scotland, the excise on ale and spirits defrays not the expence of levying; the people are burdened, and the government is not supported. I suspect that the window tax in Scotland lies open to the same objection.

A lottery is a sort of tax different from any that have been mentioned. It is a tax, of all the most agreeable, being entirely voluntary. An appetite for gaming, inherent even in savages, prompts multitudes to venture their money in hopes of a high prize; tho' they cannot altogether hide from themselves, the inequality of the play. But it is well, that the selfish passions of men, can be made subservient to the public good. Lotteries however produce one unhappy effect: they blunt the edge of industry, by directing the attention to a more compendious mode of gain. At the same time, the money acquired by a lottery, seldom turns to account; for what comes without trouble, goes commonly without thought.

S E C T. IV.

Manner of levying Taxes.

TO avoid the rapacity of farmers, a mild government will, in most cases, prefer management; i. e. it will levy taxes by officers appointed for that purpose. Montesquieu (*a*) has handled that point with his usual sprightly elegance.

Importation-duties are commonly laid upon the importer before the cargo is landed, leaving him to add the duty to the price of the goods; and the facility of levying, is the motive for preferring that mode. But is it not hard, that the importer should be obliged to advance a great sum in name of duty, before drawing a shilling by the sale of his goods? It is not only hard, but grossly unjust; for if the goods perish without being sold, the duty is lost to the importer: he has no claim against the public for restitution. This has

(*a*) *L'Esprit des loix*, liv. 13. ch. 19.

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more the air of despotism, than of a free government. Would it not be more equitable, that the goods should be lodged in a public warehouse, under custody of revenue-officers, the importer paying the duty as goods are sold? According to the present mode, the duty remains with the collector three years, in order to be repaid to the importer, if the goods be exported within that time: but by the mode proposed, the duty would be paid to the treasury as goods are sold, which might be within a month from the time of importation, perhaps a week; and the treasury would profit, as well as the fair trader. There are public warehouses adjoining to the customhouse of Bourdeaux, where the sugars of the French colonies are deposited, till the importer finds a market; and he pays the duty gradually as sales are made. It rejoices me, that the same mode is adopted in this island with respect to some foreign articles necessary in our trade with Africa: the duty is not demanded, till the goods be shipped for that continent. It is also adopted with respect to foreign salt, and with respect to rum imported from our sugar-colonies.

Beside the equity of what is here proposed, which relieves the importer from advance of money and from risk, many other advantages would be derived from it. In the first place, the merchant, having no occasion to reserve any portion of his capital for answering the duty, would be enabled to commence trade with a small stock, or to encrease his trade if his stock be large: trade would flourish, and the public revenue would encrease in proportion. Secondly, It would lessen smuggling: many who commence trade with upright intention, are tempted to smuggle for want of ready money to pay the duty. Thirdly, This manner of levying the duty, would not only lessen the number of officers, but remove every reason for claiming discount on pretext of leakage, samples, and the drying or shrinking of goods. In the present manner of levying, that discount must be left to the discretion of the officer: a private understanding is thus opened between him and the merchant, hurtful to the revenue, and destructive to morals. Fourthly, The merchant would be enabled to lower his prices, and be forc'd to lower them by having many ri-

vals ; which at the same time would give access to heighten importation-duties, without raising the price of foreign commodities, above what it is at present. But the capital advantage of all would be, to render in effect every port in Britain a free port, enabling English merchants, many of whom have great capitals, to outstrip foreigners in what is termed *a commerce of speculation*. This island is well situated for such commerce ; and were our ports free, the productions of all climates would be stored up in them, ready for exportation when a market offers ; an excellent plan for increasing our shipping, and for producing boundless wealth.

S E C T. V.

Rules to be observed in Taxing.

THE different objects of taxes and the intricacy thereby occasioned, require general rules, not only for directing the legislature in imposing them, but for enabling

bling others to judge what are beneficial, and what hurtful.

The first rule I shall suggest is, That where-ever there is an opportunity of smuggling, taxes ought to be moderate: for smuggling can never effectually be restrained, where the cheapness of imported goods is in effect an ensurance against the risk; in which view, Swift humorously observes, that two and two do not always make four. A duty of 15 per cent. upon printed linen imported into France, encourages smuggling: a lower duty would produce a greater sum to the public, and be more beneficial to the French manufacturer. Bone-lace imported into France is charged with a duty of 20 per cent. in order to favour that manufacture at home: but in vain; for bone-lace is easily smuggled, and the price is little higher than before. The high duty on *succus liquoritiæ* imported into Britain, being L. 7 : 2 : 6 per hundred weight, was a great encouragement to smuggling; for which reason it is reduced to 30 s. per hundred weight (a).

(a) 7° Geo. III. cap. 47.

Smuggling of tea, which draws great sums from Britain, is much encouraged by its high price at home. As far as I can judge, it would be profitable, both to the public and to individuals, to lay aside the importation-duty, and to substitute in its stead a duty on the consumer. Freedom of importation would enable the East-India company to sell so cheap, as effectually to banish smuggling ; and the low price of tea would enable the consumer to pay a pretty smart duty, without being much out of pocket. The following mode is proposed, as a hint merely that may lead to improvements. Let every man who uses tea be subjected to a moderate tax, proportioned to his mode of living. Absolute precision cannot be expected in proportioning the tax on families ; but gross inequality may easily be prevented. For instance, let the mode of living be determined by the equipage that is kept. A coach or chaise with two horses, shall subject a family to a yearly tax of L. 10 ; heightening the tax in proportion to the number of horses and carriages ; two servants in livery, without a carriage, to a tax of 40 s. ; every other family paying 20 s. Every family

family where tea is used must be entered in the collector's books, with its mode of living, under a heavy penalty ; which would regulate the coach-tax, as well as that on tea. Such a tax, little expensive in levying, would undoubtedly be effectual : a master of a family is imprudent indeed, if he put it in the power of the vender, of a malicious neighbour, or of a disgusted servant, to subject him to a heavy penalty. This tax, at the same time, would be the least disagreeable of any that is levied without disguise ; being in effect a voluntary tax, as the mode of living is voluntary. Nor would it be difficult to temper the tax, so as to afford a greater sum to the public than it receives at present from the importation-duty, and yet to cost our people no more for tea than they pay at present, considering the high price of that commodity.

To favour our own cambric manufacture, the importation of it is prohibited. The unhappy circumstance is, that fine cambric is easily smuggled : the price is great, and the bulk small. Would it not be more politic, to admit importation under a duty so moderate as not to encourage smuggling,

smuggling. The duty apply'd for promoting our own cambric-manufacture, would in time so improve it, as to put us above the hazard of rivalship, with respect at least to our own consumption. It is pleasant to trace the progressive effects of such a plan. The importation-duties would at first be considerable; and yet no higher than necessary for nursing an infant manufacture. As the manufacture improves, more and more of it would be consumed at home; and the duty would fall in proportion. But then, this small duty would be sufficient to encourage a manufacture, now approaching to perfection.

High duties on importation are immoral, as well as impolitic; for is it not unjustifiable in a legislature, first to tempt, and then to punish for yielding to the temptation.

A second rule is, That taxes expensive in the levying ought to be avoided; being heavy on the people, without a proportional benefit to the revenue. Our land-tax is admirable: it affords a great sum, levied with very little expence. The duties on coaches, and on gold and silver plate,

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are similar ; and so would be the tax on tea above proposed. The taxes that are the most hurtful to trade and manufactures, such as the duties on soap, candle, leather, are expensive in levying.

A third rule is, To avoid arbitrary taxes. They are disgusting to all, not excepting those who are favourably treated ; because self-partiality seldom permits a man to think, that justice is done him. A tax laid on persons in proportion to their trade, or their opulence, must be arbitrary, even where strict justice is intended ; because it depends on vague opinion or conjecture : every man thinks himself injured ; and the sum levied does not balance the discontent it occasions. The tax laid on the French farmer in proportion to his substance, is an intolerable grievance, and a great engine of oppression : if the farmer exert any activity in meliorating his land, he is sure to be doubly taxed. Hamburg affords the only instance of a tax on trade and riches, that is willingly paid, and that consequently is levied without oppression. Every merchant puts privately into the public chest, the sum that in his own opinion he ought to contribute ;

bute ; a singular example of integrity in a great trading town, for there is no suspicion of wrong in that tacit contribution. But this state is not yet corrupted by luxury.

Because many vices that poison a nation, arise from inequality of fortune ; I propose it as a fourth rule, to remedy that inequality as much as possible, by relieving the poor, and burdening the rich. Heavy taxes are lightly born by men of overgrown estates. Those proprietors especially, who wound the public by converting much land from profit to pleasure, ought not to be spared. Would it not contribute greatly to the public good, that a tax of L. 50 should be laid on every house that has 50 windows ; L. 150 on houses of 100 windows ; and L. 400 on houses of 200 windows ? By the same principle, every deer-park of 200 acres ought to pay L. 50 ; of 500 acres L. 200 ; and of 1000 acres L. 600. Fifty acres of pleasure ground to pay L. 30 ; 100 such acres L. 80 ; 150 acres L. 200 ; and 200 acres L. 300. Such a tax would have a collateral good effect : it would probably move high-minded men to leave out more

ground for maintaining the poor, than they are commonly inclined to do.

A fifth rule of capital importance; as it regards the interest of the state in general, is, That every tax which tends to impoverish the nation ought to be rejected with indignation. Such taxes contradict the very nature of government, which is to protect, not to oppress. And supposing the interest of the governing power to be only regarded, a state is not measured by the extent of its territory, but by what the subjects are able to pay annually without end. A sovereign, however regardless of his duty as father of his people, will regard that rule for his own sake: a nation impoverished by oppressive taxes, will reduce the sovereign at last to the same poverty; for he cannot levy what they cannot pay.

Whether taxes imposed on common necessaries, which fall heavy upon the labouring poor, be of the kind now mentioned, deserves the most serious deliberation. Where they tend to promote industry, they are highly salutary: where they deprive us of foreign markets, by raising the price of labour and of man-

factures, they are highly noxious. In some cases, industry may be promoted by taxes, without raising the price of labour and of manufactures. Tobolski in Siberia is a populous town, the price of provisions is extremely low, and the people on that account are extremely idle. While they are masters of a farthing, they work none: when they are pinched with hunger, they gain in a day what maintains them a week: they never think of to-morrow, nor of providing against want. A tax there upon necessaries would probably excite some degree of industry. Such a tax, renewed from time to time, and augmented gradually, would promote industry more and more, so as to squeeze out of that lazy people three, four, or even five days labour weekly, without raising their wages, or the price of their work. But beware of a general rule. The effect would be very different in Britain, where moderate labour without much relaxation is requisite for living comfortably: in every such case, a permanent tax upon necessaries fails not in time to raise the price of labour. It is true, that in a single year of scarcity, there is commonly more labour

bour than in plentiful years. But suppose scarcity to continue many years successively, or suppose a permanent tax on necessaries, wages must rise till the labourer find comfortable living: if the employer obstinately stand out, the labourer will in despair abandon work altogether, and commence beggar; or will retire to a country less burdened with taxes. Hence a fatal doctrine, That where expence of living equals, or nearly equals, what is gained by bodily labour, moderate taxes renewed from time to time after considerable intervals, will promote industry, without raising the price of labour; but that permanent taxes will unavoidably raise the price of labour, and of manufactures. In Holland, the high price of provisions and of labour, occasioned by permanent taxes, have excluded from the foreign market every one of their manufactures that can be supplied by other nations. Heavy taxes have annihilated their once flourishing manufactures of wool, of silk, of gold and silver, and many others. The prices of labour and of manufactures have in England been immoderately raised by the same means.

To prevent a total downfall of our manufactures, several political writers hold, that the labouring poor ought to be disburdened of all taxes. The royal tithe proposed for France, instead of all other taxes, published in the name of Mareschal Vauban, or such a tax laid upon land in England, early imposed, might have produced wonders. But the expedient would now come too late, at least in England : such profligacy have the poor-rates produced among the lower ranks, that to relieve them from taxes, would probably make them work less, but assuredly would not make them work cheaper. It is vain therefore to think of a remedy against idleness and high wages, while the poor-rates subsist in their present form. Davenant pronounces, that the English poor-rates will in time be the bane of their manufactures. He computes, that the persons receiving alms in England amounted to one million and two hundred thousand ; the half of whom at least, would have continued to work, had they not relied on parish-charity. But of this more at large in a separate sketch.

Were the poor-rates abolished, a general

ral act of naturalization would not only augment the strength of Britain by adding to the number of its people, but would compel the natives to work cheaper, and consequently to be more industrious.

If these expedients be not relished, the only one that remains for preserving our manufactures, is, to encourage their exportation by a bounty, such as may enable us to cope with our rivals in foreign markets. But where is the fund for a bounty so extensive? It may be raised out of land, like the Athenian tax above mentioned, burdening great proprietors in a geometrical proportion, and freeing those who have not above L. 100 of land-rent. That tax would raise a great sum to the public, without any real loss to those who are burdened; for comparative riches would remain the same as formerly. Nay such a tax would in time prove highly beneficial to land proprietors; for by promoting industry and commerce, it would raise the rent of land much above the contribution. The sums contributed, laid out upon interest at five *per cent.* would not produce so great profit. To make land-holders embrace the tax, may it not be

be thought sufficient, that unless for some bounty, our foreign commerce must vanish, and land be reduced to its original low value? Can any man hesitate about paying a shilling, when it prevents the loss of a pound?

I shall close with a rule of deeper concern than all that have been mentioned, which is, To avoid taxes that require the oath of party. They are destructive to morals, as being a temptation to perjury. Few there are so wicked, as to hurt others by perjury: at the same time, not many of the lower ranks scruple much at perjury, when it prevents hurt to themselves. Consider the duty on candle: those only who brew for sale, pay the duty on malt-liquor; and to avoid the brewer's oath, the quantity is ascertained by officers who attend the process: but the duty on candle is oppressive, as comprehending poor people who make no candle for sale; and is subversive of morals, by requiring their oath upon the quantity they make for their own use. Figure a poor widow, burdened with five or six children: she is not permitted to make ready a little food for her infants by the

the light of a rag dipped in grease, without paying what she has not to pay, or being guilty of perjury. However upright originally, poverty and anxiety about her infants, will tempt her to conceal the truth, and to deny upon oath — a sad lesson to her poor children : ought they to be punished for copying after their mother, whom they loved and revered ? whatever she did appears right in their eyes. The manner of levying the salt-tax in France is indeed arbitrary ; but it has not an immoral tendency : an oath is avoided ; and every master of a family pays for the quantity he is presumed to consume. French wine is often imported into Britain as Spanish, which pays less duty. To check that fraud, the importer's oath is required ; and if perjury be suspected, a jury is set upon him in exchequer. This is horrid : the importer is tempted by a high duty on French wine to commit perjury ; for which he is prosecuted in a sovereign court, open to all the world : he turns desperate, and loses all sense of honour. Thus custom-house oaths have become a proverb, as meriting no regard ; and corruption creeping on, will become universal.

sal. Some goods imported pay a duty *ad valorem*; and to ascertain the value, the importer's oath is required. In China, the books of the merchant are trusted, without an oath. Why not imitate so laudable a practice? If our people be more corrupted, perjury may be avoided, by ordaining the merchant to deliver his goods to any who will demand them, at the rate stated in his books; with the addition of ten *per cent.* as a sufficient profit to himself. Oaths have been greatly multiplied in Britain since the Revolution, without reserve, and contrary to sound policy. New oaths have been invented against those who are disaffected to the government; against fictitious titles in electing parliament members; against defrauding the revenue, &c. &c. They have been so hackney'd, and have become so familiar, as to be held a matter of form merely. Perjury has dwindled into a venial transgression, and is scarce held an imputation on any man's character. Lamentable indeed has been the conduct of our legislature: instead of laws for reforming or improving morals, the imprudent multiplication of oaths has

not only spread corruption through every rank, but, by annihilating the authority of an oath over conscience, has rendered it entirely ineffectual.

S E C T. VI.

Taxes examined with respect to their effects.

NO other political subject is of greater importance to Britain, than the present: a whole life might be profitably bestow'd on it, and a large volume: but hints only are my task. Considering taxes with regard to their effects, they may be commodiously distinguished into five kinds. First, Taxes that encrease the public revenue, without producing any other effect, good or bad. Second, Taxes that encrease the public revenue; and are also beneficial to manufactures and commerce. Third, Taxes that encrease the public revenue; but are hurtful to manufactures and commerce. Fourth, Taxes that are hurtful to manufactures and commerce,

without encreasing the public revenue. Fifth, Taxes that are hurtful to manufactures and commerce; and also lessen the public revenue. I proceed to instances of each kind, drawn chiefly from British taxes.

Our land-tax is an illustrious instance of the first kind: it produces a revenue to the public, levied with very little expence: and it hurts no mortal; for a landholder who pays for having himself and his estate protected, cannot be said to be hurt. The duty on coaches is of the same kind. Both taxes at the same time are agreeable to sound principles. Men ought to contribute to the public revenue, as far as they are benefited by being protected: a rich man requires protection for his possessions, as well as for his person, and therefore ought to contribute largely: a poor man requires protection for his person only, and therefore ought to contribute little.

A tax on foreign luxuries is an instance of the second kind. It encreases the public revenue: and it greatly benefits individuals; not only by restraining the consumption of foreign luxuries, but by encouraging

couraging our own manufactures. Britain enjoys a monopoly of coal exported to Holland; and the duty on exportation is agreeable to sound policy, being paid by the Dutch. This duty is another instance of the second kind: it raises a considerable revenue to the public; and it enables us to cope with the Dutch in every manufacture that employs coal, such as dying, distilling, works of glass and of iron. And these manufactures in Britain, by the dearness of labour, are entitled to some aid. A tax on horses, to prevent their increase, would be a tax of the same kind. The incredible number of horses used in coaches and other wheel-carriages, has raised the price of labour, by doubling the price of oat-meal, the food of the labouring poor in many parts of Britain. The price of wheat is also raised by the same means; because the vast quantity of land employ'd in producing oats, lessens the quantity for wheat. I would not exempt even plough-horses from the tax; because in every view it is more advantageous to use oxen *. So little regard is paid to
these

* They are preferable for husbandry in several respects.
3 D 2

these considerations, that a coach, whether drawn by two horses or by six, pays the same duty.

As to the third kind, I am grieved to

respect. They are cheaper than horses : their food, their harness, their shoes, the attendance on them, much less expensive ; and their dung much better for land. Horses are more subject to diseases ; and when diseased or old are totally useless : a stock for a farm, must be renewed at least every ten years ; whereas a stock of oxen may be kept entire for ever without any new expence, as they will always draw a full price when fatted for food. Nor is a horse more docile than an ox : a couple of oxen in a plough, require not a driver more than a couple of horses. The Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope plough with oxen ; and exercise them early to a quick pace, so as to equal horses both in the plough and in the waggon. The people of Malabar use no other animal for the plough nor for burdens. About Pondicherry no beasts of burden are to be seen but oxen. The Greeks and Romans anciently used no beasts in the plough but oxen. The vast increase of horses of late years for luxury as well as for draught, makes a great consumption of oats. If in husbandry oxen only were used, which require no oats, many thousand acres would be saved for wheat and barley. But the advantages of oxen would not be confined to the farmer. Beef would be much cheaper to the manufacturer, by the vast addition of fat oxen sent to market ; and the price of leather and tallow would fall ; a national benefit, as every one uses shoes and candles.

observe,

observe, that we have many taxes detrimental to the state, as being more oppressive upon the people than gainful to the public revenue. Multiplied taxes on the necessaries of life, candle, soap, leather, ale, salt, &c. raise the price of labour, and consequently of manufactures. If they shall have the effect to deprive us of foreign markets, which we have reason to dread, depopulation and poverty must ensue. The salt-tax in particular is eminently detrimental. With respect to the other taxes mentioned, the rich bear the greatest burden, being the greatest consumers; but the share they pay of the salt-tax is very little, because they reject salt provisions. The salt-tax is still more absurd in another respect, salt being a choice manure for land. One would be amazed to hear of a law prohibiting the use of lime as a manure: he would be still more amazed to hear of the prohibition being extended to salt, which is a manure much superior: and yet a heavy tax on salt, which renders it too dear for a manure, surprises no man. But the mental eye resembles that of the body: it seldom perceives but what is directly before it: consequences lie far out of sight.

sight. Many thousand quarters of good wheat, have been annually withheld from Britain by the salt-tax. What the treasury has gained, will not compensate the fiftieth part of that loss. The absurdity of withholding from us a manure so profitable, has at last been discovered; and remedied in part, by permitting English foul salt to be used for manure, on paying four pence of duty per bushel (*a*). Why was not Scotland permitted to taste of that bounty? Our candidates, it would appear, are more solicitous of a seat in parliament, than of serving their country when they have obtained that honour. What pretext would there have been even for murmuring, had every one of them been rejected with indignation, in the choice of representatives for a new parliament?

The window-tax is more detrimental to the people, than advantageous to the revenue. In the first place, it promotes large farms in order to save houses and windows; whereas small farms tend to multiply a hardy and frugal race, useful for every purpose. In the next place, it is a discouragement to manufactures, by tax-

(*a*) 8° Geo. III. cap. 25.

ing the houses in which they are carried on. Manufacturers, in order to relieve themselves as much as possible from the tax, make a side of their house but one window ; and there are instances, where in three stories there are but three windows. But what chiefly raises my aversion to that tax, is that it burdens the poor more than the rich : a house in aaultry village that affords not five pounds of yearly rent, may have a greater number of windows than one in London rented at fifty. The plate-tax is not indeed hurtful to manufactures and commerce : but it is hurtful to the common interest ; because plate converted into money may be the means of saving the nation at a crisis, and therefore ought to be encouraged, instead of being loaded with a tax. On pictures imported into Britain, a duty is laid in proportion to the size. Was there no intelligent person at hand, to inform our legislature, that the only means to rouse a genius for painting, is to give our youth ready access to good pictures ? Till these be multiplied in Britain, we never shall have the reputation of producing a good painter. So far indeed it is lucky,

that

that the most valuable pictures are not loaded with a greater duty than the most poultry. Fish, both salt and fresh, brought to Paris, pay a duty of *48 per cent.* by an arbitrary estimation of the value. This tax is an irreparable injury to France, by discouraging the multiplication of seamen. It is beneficial indeed in one view, as it tends to check the growing population of that great city.

Without waiting to rummage the British taxes for instances of the fourth kind, I shall present my reader with a foreign instance. In the Austrian Netherlands, there are inexhaustible mines of coal, the exportation of which would make a considerable article of commerce, were it not absolutely barred by an exorbitant duty. This absurd duty is a great injury to proprietors of coal, without yielding a farthing to the revenue. The Dutch, many years ago, offered to confine themselves to that country for coal, on condition of being relieved from the duty; which would have brought down the price below that of British coal. Is it not wonderful, that the proposal was rejected? But ministers seldom regard what is beneficial to the nation,

tion, unless it produce an immediate benefit to their sovereign or to themselves. The coal-mines in the Austrian Netherlands being thus shut up and the art of working them lost, the British enjoy the monopoly of exporting coal to Holland. And it is likely to be a very beneficial monopoly. The Dutch turf is wearing out. The woods are cut down every where near the sea; and the expence of carrying wood for feuel from a distance, turns greater and greater every day.

The duty on coal water-born is an instance of the fifth kind. A great obstruction it is to many useful manufactures that require coal; and indeed to manufactures in general, by increasing the expence of coal, an essential article in a cold country. Nay, one would imagine, that it has been intended to check population; as poor wretches benummed with cold, have little of the carnal appetite. It has not even the merit of adding much to the public revenue; for, laying aside London, it produces but a mere trifle. But the peculiarity of this tax, which intitles it to a conspicuous place in the fifth class, is, that it is not less detrimental to the public re-

venue, than to individuals. No sedentary art nor occupation, can succeed in a cold climate without plenty of fuel. One may at the first glance distinguish the coal-countries from the rest of England, by the industry of the inhabitants, and by plenty of manufacturing towns and villages. Where there is scarcity of fuel, some hours are lost every morning; because people cannot work till the place be sufficiently warmed, which is especially the case in manufactures that require a soft and delicate finger. Now, in many parts of Britain that might be provided with coal by water, the labouring poor are deprived of that comfort by the tax. Had cheap firing encouraged these people to prosecute arts and manufactures; it is more than probable, that at this day they would be contributing to the public revenue by other duties, much greater sums than are drawn from them by the duty on coal. At the same time, if coal must pay a duty, why not at the pit, where it is cheapest? Is it not an egregious blunder, to lay a great duty on those who pay a high price for coal, and no duty on those who have it cheap? If there must be a

coal-

coal-duty, let water-born coal at any rate be exempted; not only because even without duty it comes dear to the consumer, but also for the encouragement of seamen. For the honour of Britain this duty ought to be expunged from our statute-book, never again to show its face. Great reason indeed there is for continuing the duty on coal consumed in London; because every artifice should be practised, to prevent the increase of a capital, that is already too large for this or for any other kingdom. Towns are unhealthy in proportion to their size; and a great town like London is a greater enemy to population than war or famine.

S E C T. VII.

Taxes for advancing Industry and Commerce.

OF all sciences, that of politics is the most intricate; and its progress toward maturity is slow in proportion. In the present section, taxes on exportation of native commodities take the lead; and

nothing can set in a stronger light the gross ignorance of former ages, than a maxim universally adopted, That to tax exportation or to prohibit it altogether, is the best means for having plenty at home. In Scotland we were not satisfied with prohibiting the exportation of corn, of fish, and of horses: the prohibition was extended to manufactures, linen cloth, candle, butter, cheese, barked hides, shoes * (a).

Duties on exportation are in great favour, from a notion that they are paid by foreigners. This holds sometimes, as in the above-mentioned case of coal exported to Holland: but it fails in every case where the foreign market can be supplied by others; for whatever be the duty, the merchant must regulate his price by the

* Oil was the only commodity that by the laws of Solon was permitted to be exported from Attica. The figs of that country, which are delicious, came to be produced in such plenty, that there was not consumpt for them at home; and yet the law prohibiting exportation was not abrogated. Sycophant denotes a person who informs against the exporter of figs: but the prohibition appearing absurd, sycophant became a term of reproach.

(a) Act 59. parl. 1573.

market.

market. And even supposing the market-price at present to be sufficient for the duty, with a reasonable profit to the exporter; those who pay no duty will strain every nerve of rivalry, till they cut us out by low prices. The duty on French wine exported from France, is in effect a bounty to the wines of neighbouring countries. The duty is unskillfully imposed, being the same upon all wines exported, without regard to flavour or strength; which bars the commerce of small wines, tho' they far exceed the strong in quantity. A moderate duty on exportation, such as small wines can bear, would add a greater sum to the revenue, and also be more beneficial to commerce. To improve the commerce of wine in France, the exportation ought to be free, or at most charged with a moderate duty *ad valorem*. In Spain an excessive duty is laid upon the plant barrile when exported; from an opinion, that it will not grow in any other country. It is not considered, that this tax, by lessening the demand, is a discouragement to its culture. A moderate duty would raise more money to the public, would employ more hands,

and

and would make that plant a permanent article of commerce. The excessive duty has set invention at work, for some material in place of that plant. If such a material shall be discovered, the Spanish ministry will be convinced of a salutary maxim, That it is not always safe to interrupt by high duties the free course of commerce. Formerly in Britain, the exportation of manufactured copper was prohibited. That blunder in commercial politics, was corrected by a statute in the reign of King William, permitting such copper to be exported, on paying a duty of four shillings the hundred weight. The exportation ought to have been declared free; which was done by a statute of Queen Anne. But as the heat of improvement tends naturally to excess, this statute permits even unwrought copper, a raw material, to be exported. This probably was done to favour copper-mines: but did it not also favour foreign copper-manufactures? Goods and merchandise of the product or manufacture of Great Britain, may be exported duty free (*a*). A few years ago, the East India Company

(*a*) George I. cap. 14. act 8.

procured

procured an act of parliament, prohibiting the exportation of cannon to the East Indies ; which was very short-sighted : the Dutch and Danes purchase cannon here, of which they make a profitable trade by exporting them to the East Indies. A cannon is purchased in Scotland for about L. 14 per ton; and sold to the Nabobs of Hindostan for between L. 50 and L. 70 per ton. And the only effect of the act of parliament, is to cut the British out of that profitable branch of commerce. Allum, lead, and some other commodities specified in the statute, are excepted ; and a duty formerly paid on exportation is continued, for encouraging such of our own manufactures as employ any of the articles specified. In Ireland to this day, goods exported are loaded with a high duty, without even distinguishing made work from raw materials ; corn, for example, fish, hops, butter, horned cattle, wrought iron, leather and every thing made of it, &c. &c. And that nothing may escape, all goods exported that are not contained in the book of rates, pay 5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

When Sully entered on the administration

tion of the French finances, corn in France was at an exorbitant price, occasioned by neglect of husbandry during the civil war. That sagacious minister discovered the secret of re-establishing agriculture, and of reducing the price of corn, which is, to allow a free exportation. So rapid was the success of that bold but politic measure, that in a few years France became the granary of Europe; and what at present may appear wonderful, we find in the English records, *anno 1621*, bitter complaints of the French underselling them in their own markets. Colbert, who, fortunately for us, had imbibed the common error, renewed the ancient prohibition of exporting corn, hoping to have it cheap at home for his manufacturers. But he was in a gross mistake; for that prohibition has been the chief cause of many famines in France since that time. The corn-trade in France by that means, lay long under great discouragements; and the French ministry continued long blind to the interest of their country. At last, edicts were issued, authorising the commerce of corn to be absolutely free, whether sold within the kingdom or exported. The

generality however continued blind. In the year 1768, the badness of the harvest having occasioned a famine, the distresses of the people were excessive, and their complaints universal. Overlooking altogether the bad harvest, they attributed their misery to the new law. It was in vain urged, that freedom in the corn-trade encourages agriculture: the popular opinion was adopted even by most of the parliaments; so difficult it is to eradicate established prejudices. In Turkey, about thirty years ago, a grand vizir permitted corn to be exported more freely than had been done formerly, a bushel of wheat being sold at that time under seventeen pence. Every nation flocked to Turkey for corn; and in particular no fewer than three hundred French vessels, from twenty to two hundred tons, entered Smyrna bay in one day. The Janissaries and populace took the alarm, fearing that all the corn would be exported, and that a famine would ensue. In Constantinople they grew mutinous, and were not appeased till the vizir was strangled, and his body thrown out to them. His successor, cautious of splitting on the same rock, prohibited

exportation absolutely. In that country, rent is paid in proportion to the product; and the farmers, who saw no demand, neglected tillage. In less than three years the bushel of wheat rose to six shillings; and the distresses of the people became intolerable. To this day, the fate of the good vizir is lamented.

We have improved upon Sully's discovery, by a bounty on corn exported, which has answered our most sanguine expectations. A great increase of gold and silver subsequent to the said bounty, which has raised the price of many other commodities, must have also raised that of corn, had not a still greater increase of corn, occasioned by the bounty, reduced its price even below what it was formerly; and by that means, our manufactures have profited by the bounty, no less than our husbandry. The bounty is still more important in another respect: our wheat can be afforded in the French markets cheaper than their own; by which agriculture in France is in a languishing state. And it is in our power, during a war, to dash all the French schemes for conquest, by depriving them

them of bread *. This bounty therefore is our palladium, which we ought religiously to guard, if we would avoid being a province of France. Some sage politicians have begun of late to mutter against it, as feeding our rival manufacturers cheaper than our own; which is doubtful, as the expence of exportation commonly equals the bounty. But supposing it true, will the evil be remedied by withdrawing the bounty? On the contrary, it will discourage manufactures, by raising the price of wheat at home. It will beside encourage French husbandry, so as in all probability to reduce the price of their wheat, below what we afford it to them. In France, labour is cheaper than in England, the people are more frugal, they possess a better soil and climate: what have we to balance these signal advantages but our bounty? and were that bounty

* Between the years 1715 and 1755 there was of wheat exported from England to France twenty-one millions of *septiers*, estimated at two hundred millions of livres. The bounty for exporting corn has sometimes amounted to L. 150,000 for a single year. But this sum is not all lost to the revenue; for frequently our corn is exchanged with goods that pay a high-duty on importation.

withdrawn, I should not be surprised to see French corn poured in upon us, at a lower price than it can be furnished at home; the very evil that was felt during Sully's administration.

The exportation of British manufactures to our American colonies, ought to meet with such encouragement as to prevent them from rivalling us: it would be a gross blunder to encourage their manufactures, by imposing a duty on what we export to them. We ought rather to give a bounty on exportation; which, by underselling them in their own markets, would quash every attempt to rivalship.

As the duty on foreign linen imported into Britain, is drawn back when exported to America, our legislature gave a bounty on our coarse linen exported to that country, which enables us to cope with the Germans in the American markets. The staining or printing of linen-cloth, has of late become a considerable article in the manufactures of Britain; and there is no sort of linen more proper for that manufacture than our own. The duty of foreign linen is drawn back when exported to America, whether plain or stamped:

stamped : and as we lose the bounty on our coarse linen when stamped, none but foreign linen is employ'd in the stamping manufacture. This is an oversight, such as our legislature is guilty of sometimes *.

It is not always true policy, to discourage the exportation of our own rude materials : liberty of exportation, gives encouragement to produce them in greater plenty at home; which consequently lowers the price to our manufacturers. Upon that principle, the exporting corn is permitted, and in Britain even encouraged

* Early in the year 1774 an application was made to parliament for supporting the linen manufacture, at that time in a declining state ; praying in particular that stamped linen should be comprehended under the bounty for coarse linen exported to America ; in order that his Majesty's loyal subjects might have the same favour that is bestow'd on foreigners. From an ill-grounded jealousy that this application might be of some prejudice to the English woolen manufactures, the bill in a peevish fit was rejected by the house of commons. With respect at least to the prayer concerning stamped linen, I may boldly affirm, that it was doing wrong, without even a pretext. There is nothing perfect of human invention. Where the legislature consists of a single person, arbitrary and oppressive measures always prevail : where it consists of a great number, passion and prejudice cannot always be prevented.

with a bounty. But where exportation of a rude material will not encrease its quantity, the prohibition is good policy. For example, the exporting rags for paper may be prohibited ; because liberty of exporting will not occasion one yard more of linen cloth to be consumed.

Lyons is the city of Europe where the greatest quantity of silk stuffs is made : it is at the same time the greatest staple of raw silk ; the silk of Italy, of Spain, of the Levant, and of the south of France, being there collected. The exportation of raw silk is prohibited in France, with a view to lessen its price at home, and to obstruct the silk-manufacture among foreigners. The first is a gross error ; the prohibition of exportation producing scarcity, not plenty : and with respect to the other view, it seems to have been overlooked, that the commerce of the silks of Italy, of Spain, and of the Levant, is open to all trading nations. This prohibition is indeed so injudicious, that without any benefit to France, it has done irreparable mischief to the city of Lyons : while the commerce of raw silk, both buying and selling, was monopoliz'd by the merchants of

of that city, they had it in their power to regulate the price; but to compel foreigners to go to the fountain-head, not only raises the price by concurrence of purchasers, but deprives Lyons of a lucrative monopoly. The same blunder is repeated with respect to raw silk spun and dy'd. In Lyons, silk is prepared for the loom with more art than any where else; and to secure the silk-manufacture, the exportation of spun silk is prohibited; which must rouse foreigners, to bestow their utmost attention upon improving the spinning and dressing of silk: and who knows whether reiterated trials by persons of genius, may not, in England for example, bring these branches of the manufacture to greater perfection, than they are even in Lyons?

Whether we have not committed a blunder of the same kind in prohibiting exportation of our wool, is a very serious question, which I proceed to examine. A spirit for husbandry and for every sort of improvement, is in France turning more and more general. In several provinces there are societies, who have command of public money for promoting agriculture; and about no other article are these societies

cieties more solicitous, than about improving their wool. A book lately published in Sweden and translated into French, has inspired them with sanguine hopes of success; as it contains an account of the Swedish wool being greatly improved in quality, as well as in quantity, by importing Spanish and English sheep for breed. Now as France is an extensive country, situated between Spain and England, two excellent wool-countries, it would be strange, if there should not be found a single corner in all France that can produce good wool. Britain may be justly apprehensive of these attempts; for if France can cope with us under the disadvantage of procuring our wool by smuggling, how far will they exceed us with good wool of their own? The woollen cloth of England has always been esteemed its capital manufacture; and patriotism calls on every one to prevent if possible the loss of that valuable branch. Till something better be discovered, I venture to propose what at first may be thought a strange measure; and that is, to permit the exportation of our wool upon a moderate duty, such as will raise the price to the French, but not such

as to encourage smuggling. The opportunity of procuring wool in the neighbourhood at a moderate price, joined with several unsuccessful attempts to improve their own wool, would soon make the French abandon thoughts of that improvement.

Experience has unfolded the advantages of liberty to export corn: that liberty has greatly encouraged agriculture, and, by increasing the quantity of corn, has made it even cheaper at home than formerly. Have we not reason to expect a similar consequence, from the same measure with respect to wool? A new vent for that commodity, would improve the breed of our sheep, encrease their number, meliorate the land by their dung, and probably bring down the price of our wool at home. It would be proper indeed to prohibit the exportation of wool, as of corn, when the price rises above a certain sum. This measure would give us the command of that valuable commodity: it would secure plenty to ourselves, and distress our rivals, at critical times when the commodity is scarce.

There is one reason that should influ-

ence our legislature to permit the exportation of wool, even supposing the foregoing arguments to be inconclusive: very long experience may teach us, if we can be taught by experience, that vain are our endeavours to prevent wool from being exported: it holds true with respect to all prohibitions, that smuggling will always prevail, where the profit rises above the risk, Why not then make a virtue of necessity, by permitting exportation under a duty? One other measure would restore the English woollen manufacture to its pristine height, which is, to apply the sum arising from the tax, as a premium for exporting woollen goods. Were that measure adopted, the liberty of exporting wool would prove a singular blessing to England.

I close this branch with a commercial lesson, to which every other consideration ought to yield. The trade of a nation depends for the most part on very delicate circumstances, and requires to be carefully nursed. Foreigners, in particular, ought to be flattered and encouraged, that they may prefer us before others. Nor ought we ever to rely entirely on our natural advantages; for it is not easy to foresee what may

may occur to overbalance them. As this reflection is no less obvious than weighty, facts will be more effectual than argument for making a deep impression. Before the time of the famous Colbert, Holland was the chief market for French manufactures. That minister, in order to monopolize every article of commerce, laid a high duty on Dutch goods brought into France. The Dutch, resenting this measure, prohibited totally some French manufactures and laid a high duty on others; which had the effect to encourage these manufactures at home. The revocation of the edict of Nantz, drove a vast number of French manufacturers into Holland; and perfected various manufactures formerly brought from France. In a word, this measure intended by Colbert to turn the balance of trade entirely on the side of his country, had the effect of turning it more for the Dutch than formerly. The Swiss some years ago imported all their wines from the King of Sardinia's dominions. The King laid a high duty on these wines, knowing that the Swiss had not ready access to any other wine-country. He did not foresee, that this high duty was equal

to a premium for cultivating the vine at home. They succeeded; and now are provided with wine of their own growth. The city of Lyons, by making silver-thread in perfection, had maintained a monopoly of that article against foreigners, as well as natives. But a high duty on its exportation, in order to monopolize also the manufacture of silver-lace, will probably excite foreigners to improve their own silver-thread and silver-lace; and France will be deprived of both monopolies, by the very means employ'd for securing both. English goods purchased by Spaniards for the American market, pay to the King of Spain on exportation a duty equal to their value. This impolitic measure opens a wide door to smuggling; as English goods can be furnished 50 *per cent.* cheaper from Jamaica. The Spanish governor of Mexico joins underhand in the smuggling; which is commonly carried on in the following manner. The governor, to whom early notice is given, gives notice to others by a proclamation, that a foreign ship, with English goods on board, every article being specified, is hovering on the coast; and prohibiting, under

der severe penalties, any person to be a purchaser. That public proclamation has the desired effect : all flock to the shore, and purchase in perfect tranquillity.

Beside heavy duties, commerce with foreigners has been distressed by many unwary regulations. The herring-fishery, which is now an article of immense commerce, was engrossed originally by the Scots. But grasping at all advantages, the royal boroughs of Scotland, in the reign of the second James, prohibited their fishermen to sell herrings at sea to foreigners ; ordering, that they should be first landed, in order that they themselves might be first provided. Such was the policy of those times. But behold the consequence. The Netherlanders and people of the Hanse towns, being prohibited to purchase as formerly, became fishers themselves, and cut the Scots out of that profitable branch of trade. The tar-company of Sweden, taking it for granted that the English could not be otherwise supplied, refused to let them have any pitch or tar, even for ready money, unless permitted to be imported into England in Swedish bottoms ; and consequently in such quantities only

as

as the company should be pleased to furnish. This hardship moved the parliament to give a bounty for pitch and tar made in our own colonies. And if we be not already, we shall soon be altogether independent of Sweden. The Dutch, excited by the profitable trade of Portugal with the East-Indies, attempted a North-east passage to China ; and that proving abortive, they set on foot a trade with Lisbon for East-India commodities. Portugal was at that time subject to the King of Spain ; and the Dutch, tho' at war with Spain, did not doubt of their being well received in Portugal, with which kingdom they had no cause of quarrel. But the King of Spain, overlooking not only the law of nations, but even his own interest as King of Portugal, confiscated at short-hand the Dutch ships and their cargoes, in the harbour of Lisbon. That unjust and unpolitic treatment, provoked the Dutch to attempt an East-India trade, which probably they would not otherwise have thought of ; and they were so successful, as to supplant the Portuguese in every quarter. Thus the King of Spain, by a gross error in policy, exalted his enemies

mies to be a powerful maritime state. Had he encouraged the Dutch to trade with Lisbon, other nations must have resorted to the same market. Portugal would have been raised to such a height of maritime power, as to be afraid of no rival: the Dutch would not have thought of coping with it, nor would any other nation.

We proceed to foreign commodities. The measures laid down for regulating their importation, have different views. One is, to keep down a rival power; in which view it is prudent to prohibit importation from one country, and to encourage it from another. It is judicious in the British legislature, to load French wines with a higher duty than those of Portugal; and in France, it would be a proper measure, to prefer the beef of Holstein, or of Russia, before that of Ireland; and the tobacco of the Ukraine or of the Palatinate, before that of Virginia. But such measures of government ought to be sparingly exercised, for fear of retaliation.

There is no cause more cogent for regulating importation, than an unfavourable balance. By permitting French goods to be imported free of duty, the balance against

gainst England was computed to be a million Sterling yearly. In the year 1678, that importation was regulated; which, with a prohibition of wearing East-India manufactures, did in twenty years turn the balance of trade in favour of England.

Most of the British regulations concerning goods imported, are contrived for promoting our own manufactures, or those of our colonies. A statute, 3° Edward IV. cap. 4. intitled, “ Certain merchandises “ not lawful to be brought ready wrought “ into the kingdom,” contains a large list of such merchandises; indicating the good sense of the English in an early period, intent on promoting their own manufactures. To favour a new manufacture of our own, it is proper to lay a duty on the same manufacture imported. To encourage the art of throwing silk, the duty on raw silk imported is reduced, and that on thrown silk is heightened. But such a measure ought to be taken with precaution, lest it recoil against ourselves. The Swedes, some years ago, intent on raising manufactures at home, prohibited at once foreign manufactures, without due preparation. Smuggling ensued, for peo-

ple must import what they cannot find at home ; and the home manufactures were not benefited. But the consequences were still more severe. Foreign manufactures were formerly purchased with their copper, iron, timber, pitch, tar, &c. : but now, as foreigners cannot procure these commodities but with ready money, they resort to Russia and Norway, where commodities of the same kind are procured by barter. The Swedish government, perceiving their error, permit several foreign manufactures to be imported as formerly. But it is now too late ; for the trade flows into another channel : and at present, the Swedish copper and iron works are far from flourishing as they once did. In the year 1768, an ordinance was issued by the court of Spain, prohibiting printed or painted linen and cotton to be imported ; intended for encouraging a manufacture of printed cottons projected in Catalonia and Aragon. The Spanish ministry have been ever singularly unlucky in their commercial regulations. It is easy to foresee, that such a prohibition will have no effect, but to raise the price on the subjects of Spain ; for the prohibited goods will be

fmuggled, discouraging as much as ever the intended manufacture. The prudent measure would have been, to lay a duty upon printed cottons and linens imported, so small as not to encourage fmuggling ; and to apply that duty for nursing the infant manufacture. A foreign manufac-
ture ought never to be totally prohibited, till that at home be in such plenty, as nearly to supply the wants of the natives. During ignorance of political principles, a new manufacture was commonly encouraged with an exclusive privilege for a cer-
tain number of years. Thus in Scotland, an exclusive privilege of exporting wool-
len and linen manufactures, was given to some private societies (*a*). Such a monopoly is ruinous to a nation ; and frequently to the manufacture itself (*b*). I know no monopoly that in found policy can be ju-
stified, except that given to authors of books for fourteen years by an act of Queen Anne *. Exemption from duty,
premiums

(*a*) Act 42. parl. 1661.

(*b*) See *Elements du Commerce*, tom. I. p. 334.

* That act is judiciously contrived, not only for the benefit of authors, but for that of learning in general.

premiums to the best workmen, a bounty on exportation, joined with a duty on goods of the same kind imported, and at last

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general. It encourages men of genius to write, and multiplies books both of instruction and amusement; which, by concurrence of many editors after the monopoly is at an end, are sold at the cheapest rate. Many well-disposed persons complain, that the exclusive privilege bestow'd by the statute upon authors, is too short; and that it ought to be perpetual. Nay it is asserted, that authors have a perpetual privilege at common law; and it was so determined lately in the court of king's bench. Nothing more frequently happens, than by grasping at the shadow, to lose the substance; for I have no difficulty to maintain, that a perpetual monopoly of books, would prove more destructive to learning, and even to authors, than a second irruption of Goths and Vandals. It is the nature of a monopoly to raise the price of commodities; and by a perpetual monopoly in the commerce of books, the price of good books would be raised far beyond the reach of most readers: they would be sold like pictures of the great masters. The works of Shakespeare, for example, or of Milton, would be seen in very few libraries. In short, the only purchasers of good books would be a few learned men such as have money to spare, and a few rich men, who buy out of vanity, as they buy a diamond, or a fine coat. Fashions at the same time are variable; and books, even the most splendid, would wear out of fashion with men of opulence, and be despised as antiquated furniture.

a total prohibition, are the proper encouragements to a new manufacture.

The importation of raw materials ought to be encouraged in every manufacturing country, permitting only a moderate duty for encouraging our own rude materials of the same kind. By a French edict 1654 for encouraging ship-building, ship-timber imported pays no duty. But perhaps a moderate duty would have been better, in order to encourage such timber of the growth of France. Deal timber accordingly and other timber, imported into Britain from any part of Europe, Ireland excepted, pays a moderate duty. And oak-bark imported pays a duty, which is

And with respect to men of taste, their number is so small, as not to afford encouragement even for the most frugal edition. Thus booksellers, by grasping too much, would put an end to their trade altogether. At the same time, our present authors and booksellers would not be much benefited by such a monopoly. Not many books have so long a run as fourteen years; and the success of a book on the first publication, is so uncertain, that a bookseller will give little more for a perpetuity, than for the temporary privilege of the statute. This was foreseen by the legislature; and the privilege was wisely confined to fourteen years, equally beneficial to the public and to authors.

an encouragement to propagate oak at home. The importation of lean cattle from Ireland, which in effect are raw materials, is, by a statute of Charles II. declared a public nuisance. What gross ignorance! Is it not evident, that to feed cattle, is more profitable than to breed them? The chief promoter of that notable statute, was Sir John Knight, famous, or rather infamous, for an insolent speech in King William's reign against naturalizing foreign Protestants, and proposing to kick out of the kingdom those already settled. Experience hath made evident the advantage of importing lean cattle into England; witness the vast quantities imported yearly from Scotland. Diamonds, pearls, and jewels of every kind, paid formerly upon importation a duty of ten *per cent. ad valorem*; which by act 6^o George II. cap. 7. was taken off, upon the following preamble, “That London is now become a great mart for diamonds and other precious stones, “from whence most foreign countries are “supplied; that great numbers of rough “diamonds are sent here to be cut and
“polished;

" polished ; and that a free importation
" would encrease the trade."

Sorry I am to observe, that several of our duties on importation, are far from being conformable to the foregoing rule ; many raw materials necessary for our manufactures being loaded with a duty on importation, and some with a heavy duty. Barilla, for example, is a raw material used in the glass-manufacture : the exportation from Spain is loaded with a very high duty : and to raise the price still higher, we add a duty on importation ; without having the pretext of encouraging a raw material of our own growth, for barilla grows not in this island. Hair is a raw material employ'd in several manufactures ; and yet every kind of it, human hair, horse hair, goat's hair, &c. pays a duty on importation ; which consequently raises the price of our own hair, as well as of what is imported. Nor has this duty, more than the former, the pretext of being an encouragement to our own product ; for surely there will not on that account be reared one child more, or foal, or kid. The same objection lies against the duty on foreign kelp, which is

very

very high. Rancid oil of olives, fit for soap and woollen manufactures, pays upon importation a high duty: were it free of duty, we should be able to serve ourselves with Castile soap of home manufacture; and likewise our colonies, which are partly supplied by the French. Each of the following raw materials ought in found policy to be free of duty on importation; and yet they are loaded with a duty, some with a high duty; pot-ashes, elephant's teeth, raw silk from the East Indies, lamp-black, bristles dressed or undressed, horns of beeves. Undressed skins, tho' a rude material, pay a duty on importation; and French kid-skins are honoured above others with a high duty: to reject a great benefit to ourselves rather than afford a small benefit to a rival nation, favours more of peevishness than of prudence.

For encouraging our colonies, coffee is permitted to be imported from the plantations free of duty, while other coffee pays six pence *per* pound. The heavy duty on whalebone and whaleoil imported, which was laid on for encouraging our own whale-fishing, is taken off with respect to

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the importation from our American colonies (*a*). This may put an end to our own whale-fishery : but it will enable the Americans to cope with the Dutch ; and who knows whether they may not at last prevail ? For encouraging the culture of hemp and flax in America, there is a bounty given upon what is imported into Britain. One would imagine, that our legislature intended to enable the colonies to rival us in a staple manufacture, contrary to the fundamental principle of colonization. But we did not see so far : we only foresaw a benefit to Britain, in being supplied with hemp and flax from our colonies, rather than from Russia and the Low Countries. But even abstracting from rivalry, was it not obvious, that a bounty for encouraging the culture of hemp and flax at home, would be more successful, than for encouraging the culture in America, where the price of labour is excessively high, not to talk of the freight * ?

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(*a*) 4° Geo. III. cap. 29.

* Between the mother-country and her colonies the following rule ought to be sacred, That with respect to commodities wanted, each of them should prefer

The encouragement given to foreign linen-yarn, by taking off the duty on importation, prefer the other before all other nations. Britain should take from her colonies whatever they can furnish for her use; and they should take from Britain whatever she can furnish for their use. In a word, every thing regarding commerce ought to be reciprocal, and equal between them. To bar a colony from access to the fountain-head for commodities that cannot be furnished by the mother-country but at second-hand, is oppression: it is so far degrading the colonists from being free subjects to be slaves. It is equally oppressive, to bar them from resorting to the best markets with their own product. What right, for example, has Britain to prohibit her colonies from purchasing tea or porcelaine at Canton, if they can procure it cheaper there than in London? No connection between two nations can be so intimate, as to make such restraint an act of justice. Our legislature however have acted like a stepmother to her American colonies, by prohibiting them to have any commerce but with Britain only. They must land first in Britain all their commodities, even what are not intended to be sold there; and they must take from Britain, not only its own product, but every foreign commodity that is wanted. This regulation is not only unjust but impolitic; as by it the interest of a whole nation, is sacrificed to that of a few London merchants. Our legislature have of late so far opened their eyes, as to give a partial relief. Some articles are permitted to be carried directly to the place of destination, without being first entered in Britain, wheat for example, rice, &c.

portation, is a measure that greatly concerns Britain ; and how far salutary, shall be strictly examined, after stating some preliminary observations. The first is, That our own commodities will never draw a greater price in a market, than imported commodities of the same goodness. Therefore, the price of imported linen, must regulate the price of home-made linen. The next is, That tho' the duty on importation is paid by the merchant at the first instance, he relieves himself of it, by raising the price on the purchaser ; which of course raises the price of the same sort of goods made at home ; and accordingly a duty on importation is in effect a bounty to our own manufacturers. A third observation is, That the market-price of our linen-cloth ought to be divided between the spinner and the weaver, in such proportion as to afford bread to both. If the yarn be too high, the weaver is undone : if too low, the spinner is undone. This was not attended to, when, for encouraging our spinners, a duty of three pence was laid on every pound of imported linen-yarn ; which had the effect to raise the price of our own yarn beyond what

what the weaver could afford. This mystery being unvailed, the duty was first lowered to two pence, and then to a penny : our spinners had tolerable bread, and our weavers were not oppressed with paying too high a price for yarn.

Some patriotic gentlemen, who had more zeal than knowledge, finding the linen-manufacture benefited by the several reductions of the duty, rashly concluded, that it would be still more benefited by a total abolition of the duty. The penny accordingly was taken off (*a*), and linen-yarn was permitted to be imported duty-free. Had matters continued as at the date of the act, this impolitic meafure would have left us not a single spinner by profession ; because it would have reduced the price of our yarn below what could afford bread to them. Lucky it has been for our linen-manufacture, that the German war, which soon followed, suspended all their manufactures, and spinning in particular ; which proved to us a favourable opportunity for diffusing widely the art of spinning, and for making our spin-

(a) 29° George II.

ners more and more dextrous. And yet, now that the war is at an end, it is far from being certain, that our yarn can be afforded as cheap as what is imported from Silesia. We have good authority for asserting, that the English spinners have suffered by that statute: from the books of many parishes it appears, that soon after the statute, a number of women, who had lived by spinning, became a burden upon the parish. One thing is evident, that as spinning is the occupation of females who cannot otherwise be so usefully employ'd, and as more hands are required for spinning than for weaving, the former is the more valuable branch of the manufacture. Very little attention however seems to have been given to that branch, in passing the act under consideration. Why was it not enquired into, whether the intended reduction of the price of yarn, would leave bread to the British spinner? The result of that enquiry would have been fatal to the intended act; for it would have been clearly seen, that the Scotch spinner could not make bread by her work, far less the English. Other particulars ought also to have been

been suggested to the legislature ; that flax-spinning is of all occupations the fittest for women of a certain class, confined within small houses ; that a flax-wheel requires less space than a wheel for wool ; and that the toughness of British flax makes it excel for fail-cloth, dowlas, ticking, and sheeting. The British spinner might, in a British statute, have expected the cast of the scale, had it been but a halfpenny *per pound* on importation.

At the same time, it is a national reproach that there should be any inconsistency in our commercial regulations, when the wisest heads of the nation are employ'd about them. Flax rough or undressed, being a rude material, is imported duty-free, but dressed flax pays a high duty ; both of them calculated for encouraging our own manufacturers. Behold now a glaring inconsistency : tho' dressed flax, for the reason given, pays a high duty ; yet when by additional labour it is converted into yarn, it pays no duty. Further, foreign yarn is not only made welcome duty-free, but even receives a bounty when converted into linen, and exported to our plantations. What absurdities are here !

here ! Have we no reason to be afraid, that such indulgence to foreign yarn will deprive us of foreign rough flax ? The difference of bulk and freight will determine the Germans to send us nothing but their yarn, and equally determine our importers to commission that commodity only.

Goods imported, if subjected to a duty, are generally of the best kind ; because the duty bears a less proportion to such than to meaner sorts. The best French wines are imported into Britain, where the duty is higher than in any other country. For that reason, the best linen-yarn was imported while the duty subsisted ; but now the German yarn is sorted into different kinds, of which the worst is reserved for the English market.

Regulations concerning the exportation of commodities formerly imported, come next in order. And for encouraging such exportation, one method practised with success, is, to restore to the merchant the whole or part of the duty paid at importation ; which is termed a *drawback*. This in particular is done with respect to tobacco the product of our own colonies ; which

which by that means can be afforded to foreigners at two pence halfpenny *per pound*, when the price at home is eight pence halfpenny. By this regulation, luxury is repressed at home, and at the same time our colonies are encouraged. But by an omission in the act of parliament, a drawback is only given for raw tobacco ; which bars the exportation of snuff or manufactured tobacco, as foreigners can undersell us five-and-thirty *per cent.* Tobacco being an article of luxury, it was well judged to lay a heavier duty on what is consumed at home, than on what is exported. Upon the same principle, the duty that is paid on the importation of coffee and cocoa from our American plantations, is wholly drawn back when exported (*a*). But as China earthen ware is not intitled to any encouragement from us, and as it is an article of luxury, it gets no drawback even when exported to America (*b*). The exporter of rice from Britain, first imported from America, is intitled to draw back but half the duty paid on importation. Rice imported duty-free might rival our wheat-crop. But the

(*a*) 7° George III. cap. 46.

(*b*) Ibid.

whole

whole duty ought to be drawn back on exportation : it ought to be afforded to our neighbours at the lowest rate, partly to rival their wheat-crop, and partly to encourage our rice-colonies.

Tobacco is an article of luxury ; and it is well ordered, that it should come dearer to us than to foreigners. But every wise administration will take the opposite side, with respect to articles that concern our manufactures. Quicksilver pays upon importation a duty of about 8 d. *per pound*; 7 d. of which is drawn back upon exportation. The intention of the drawback was to encourage the commerce of quicksilver ; without adverting, that to afford quicksilver to foreign manufacturers cheaper than to our own, is a gross blunder in commercial politics. Again, when quicksilver is manufactured into vermillion or sublimate, no drawback is allowed ; which effectually bars their exportation : we ought to be ashamed of such a regulation. In the reign of Queen Elisabeth, dyers were prohibited to use logwood, which was ordered to be openly burnt. But the English dyers having acquired the art of fixing colours

made of logwood, it was permitted to be imported (*a*), every ton paying on importation L. 5 ; L. 4 of which was to be drawn back upon exportation. That law, made in the days of ignorance, was intended to encourage the commerce of logwood ; and had that effect : but the blunder of discouraging our own manufactures, by furnishing logwood cheaper to our rivals, was overlooked. Both articles were put upon a better footing (*b*), giving a greater encouragement to the commerce of logwood, by allowing it to be imported duty-free ; and by giving an advantage to our own manufactures, by laying a duty of 40 s. upon every hundred weight exported. Lastly, Still more to encourage the commerce of logwood (*c*), the duty upon exportation is discontinued. It will have the effect proposed : but will not that benefit be more than balanced by the encouragement it gives to foreign manufactures ? By the late peace, we have obtained the

(*a*) Act 13. and 14. Charles II. cap. 11. § 26. 27.

(*b*) Act 8^o George I. cap. 14.

(*c*) 7^o George III. cap. 47.

monopoly of gum-senega ; and proper measures have been taken for turning it to the best account : the exportation from Africa is confined to Great Britain ; and the duty on importation is only six pence *per hundred weight* : but the duty on exportation from Britain is thirty shillings *per hundred weight* (*a*) ; which, with freight, commission, and insurance, makes it come dear to foreigners. Formerly, every beaver's skin paid upon importation seven pence of duty ; and the exporter received a drawback of four pence ; as if it had been the purpose of the legislature, to make our own people pay more for that useful commodity than foreigners. Upon obtaining a monopoly of beaver-skins by the late peace, that absurd regulation was altered : a penny *per skin* of duty is laid on importation, and seven pence on exportation (*b*). By that means beaver-skins are cheaper here than in any other country of Europe. A similar regulation is established with respect to gum-arabic. A hundred weight pays on importation six

(*a*) 5° George III. cap. 37.

(*b*) 4° George III. cap. 9.

pence, and on exportation L. 1, 10 s. (a). As the foregoing articles are used in various manufactures, their cheapness in Britain, by means of these regulations, will probably balance the high price of labour, so as to keep open to us the foreign market.

James I. of England issued a proclamation, prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver whether in coin or plate, of goldsmith's work, or of bullion. Not to mention the unconstitutional step of an English King usurping the legislative power, it was a glaring absurdity to prohibit manufactured work from being exported. Gold and silver, coined or uncoined, are to this day prohibited to be exported from France; a ridiculous prohibition: a merchant will never willingly export gold and silver; but if the balance be against him, the exportation is unavoidable. The only effect of the prohibition is, to swell the merchant's debt; for he must bribe a smuggler to undertake the exportation.

A French author remarks, that in no

(a) 5^o George III. cap. 57.

country are commercial regulations better contrived than in Britain; and instances the following particulars. 1st, Foreign commodities, such as may rival their own, are prohibited, or burdened with duties. 2d, Their manufactures are encouraged by a free exportation. 3d, Raw materials which cannot be produced at home, cochineal, for example, indigo, &c. are imported free of duty. 4th, Raw materials of their own growth, such as wool, fuller's earth, &c. are prohibited to be exported. 5th, Every commodity has a free course through the kingdom, without duty. And lastly, Duties paid on importation, are repaid on exportation. This remark is for the most part well founded: and yet the facts above set forth will not permit us to say, that the English commercial laws have as yet arrived at perfection.

HAVING thus gone through the several articles that enter into the present sketch, I shall close with some general reflections. The management of the finances is a most important branch of government; and no less delicate than important. Taxes may be so contrived as

to promote in a high degree the prosperity of a state ; and unless well contrived, they may do much mischief. The latter, by rendering the sovereign odious and the people miserable, effectually eradicate patriotism : no other cause is more fruitful of rebellion ; and no other cause reduces a country to be a more easy prey to an invader. To that cause were the Mahometans chiefly indebted, for their conquest of the Greek empire. The people were glad to change their master ; because, instead of multiplied, intricate, and vexatious duties, they found themselves subjected to a simple tribute; easily collected, and easily paid. Had the art of oppressive taxes been known to the Romans, when the utmost perfidy and cruelty were practised against the Carthaginians to make them abandon their city, the sober method of high duties on exportation and importation would have been chosen. This method, beside gratifying Roman avarice, would infallibly have ruined Carthage.

From the union of the different Spanish kingdoms under one monarch, there was reason to expect an exertion of spirit, similar to that of the Romans when peace was

was restored under Augustus. Spain was at that period the most potent kingdom in Europe, or perhaps in the world; and yet, instead of flourishing in that advantageous condition, it was by oppressive taxes reduced to poverty and depopulation. The political history of that kingdom with respect to its finances, ought to be kept in perpetual remembrance; that kings, and their ministers, may shun the destructive rock upon which Spain hath been wrecked. The cortes of Spain had once as extensive powers, as ever were enjoy'd by an English parliament; but at the time of the union their power being sunk to a shadow, the King and his ministers governed without much control. Britain cannot be too thankful to Providence for her parliament. From the history of every modern European nation, an instructive lesson may be gathered, that the three estates, or in our language a parliament, are the only proper check to the ignorance and rapacity of ministers. The fertility of the Spanish soil, is well known. Notwithstanding frequent droughts to which it is liable, it would produce greatly with diligent culture; and in fact, during the time

time of the Roman domination, produced corn sufficient for its numerous inhabitants, and a great surplus, which was annually exported to Italy. During the domination of the Moors, Arabian authors agree, that Spain was extremely populous. An author of that nation, who wrote in the tenth century, reports, that in his time there were in Spain 80 capital cities, 300 of the second and third orders, beside villages so frequent, that one could not go a mile without meeting one or more of them. In Cordova alone, the capital of the Moorish empire, he reckons 200,000 houses *, 600 mosques, and 900 public baths. In the eleventh century, another author mentions no fewer than 12,000 villages in the plain of Seville. High must have been the perfection of agriculture in Spain, when it could feed such multitudes. What was the extent of their internal commerce, is not recorded; but all authors agree, that their foreign commerce was immense. Beside many articles of smaller value, they exported raw silk, oil, sugar,

* Dwelling houses at that time were not so large, nor so expensive, as they came to be in later times.

a sort of cochineal, quicksilver, iron wrought and unwrought, manufactures of silk, of wool, &c. The annual revenue of Abdoulrahman III. one of the Spanish califs, was in money 12,045,000 dinares, above five millions Sterling, beside large quantities of corn, wine, oil, and other fruits. That prince's revenue must indeed have been immense, to supply the sums expended by him. Beside the annual charges of government, fleets, and armies, he laid out great sums on his private amusements. Tho' engaged continually in war, he had money to spare for building a new town three miles from Cordova, named *Zebra* after his favourite mistress. In that town he erected a magnificent palace, sufficiently capacious for his whole seraglio of 6300 persons. There were in it 1400 columns of African and Spanish marble, 19 of Italian marble, and 140 of the finest kind, a present from the Greek Emperor. In the middle of the great saloon, were many images of birds and beasts in pure gold adorned with precious stones, pouring water into a large marble bason. That prince must have had immense stables for horses, when he

entertained for his constant guard, no fewer than 12,000 horsemen, having sabres and belts enriched with gold. Upon the city of Zehra alone, including the palace and gardens, were expended annually 300,000 dinares, which make above L. 100,000 Sterling ; and it required twenty-five years to complete these works *.

* A present made to Abdoulrahman by Abdoumelik, when chosen prime vizir, is a specimen of the riches of Spain at that period. 1st, 408 pounds of virgin gold. 2d, The value of 420,000 sequins in silver ingots. 3d, 400 pounds of the wood of aloes, one piece of which weigh'd 180 pounds. 4th, 500 ounces of ambergrise, of which there was one piece that weigh'd 100 ounces. 5th, 300 ounces of the finest camphire. 6th, 300 pieces of gold-stuff, such as were prohibited to be worn but by the Caliph himself. 7th, A quantity of fine fur. 8th, Horse-furniture of gold and silk, Bagdad fabric, for 48 horses. 9th, 4000 pounds of raw silk. 10th, 30 pieces Persian tapestry of surprising beauty. 11th, Complete armour for 800 war-horses. 12th, 1000 bucklers, and 100,000 arrows. 13th, Fifteen Arabian horses, with most sumptuous furniture ; and a hundred other Arabian horses for the King's attendants. 14th, Twenty mules, with suitable furniture. 15th, Forty young men, and twenty young women, complete beauties, all of them dress'd in superb habits.

The great fertility of the soil, the industry of the Moors, and their advantageous situation for trade, carried on the prosperity of Spain down to the time that they were subdued by Ferdinand of Aragon. Of this we have undoubted evidence, from the condition of Spain in the days of Charles V. and of his son Philip, being esteemed at that period the richest country in the universe. We have the authority of Ustariz, that the town of Seville, in the period mentioned, contained 60,000 silk looms. During the sixteenth century, the woollen cloth of Segovia was esteemed the finest in Europe; and that of Catalonia long maintained its preference in the Levant, in Italy, and in the adjacent islands. In a memorial addressed to the second Philip, Louis Valle de la Cerda reports, that in the fair of Medina he had negotiated bills of exchange to the extent of one hundred and fifty-five millions of crowns; and in Spain at that time there were several other fairs, no less frequented.

The expulsion of the Moors, deprived Spain of six or seven hundred thousand frugal and industrious inhabitants; a wound

wound that touch'd its vitals, but not mortal: tender care, with proper remedies, would have restored Spain to its former vigour. But unhappily for that kingdom, its political physicians were not skill'd in the method of cure: instead of applying healing medicines, they enflamed the disease, and rendered it incurable. The ministry instigated by the clergy had prevailed on the King to banish the Moors. Dreading loss of favour if the King's revenues should fall, they were forc'd in self-defence to heighten the taxes upon the remaining inhabitants. And what could be expected from that fatal measure, but utter ruin; when the poor Christians, who were too proud to be industrious, had scarce been able to crawl under the load of former taxes?

But a matter that affords a lesson so instructive, merits a more particular detail. The extensive plantations of sugar in the kingdom of Granada, were upon the occasion mentioned deeply taxed, so as that the duty amounted to *36 per cent.* of the value. This branch of husbandry, which could not fail to languish under such oppression, was in a deep consumption when

the first American sugars were imported into Europe, and was totally extinguished by the lower price of these sugars. Spain once enjoy'd a most extensive commerce of spirits manufactured at home, perhaps more extensive than France does at present. But two causes concurred to ruin that manufacture; first, oppressive taxes; and next, a prohibition to the manufacturer, of vending his spirits to any but to the farmers of the revenue. Could more effectual means be invented to destroy the manufacture, root and branch? Spanish salt is superior in quality to that of Portugal, and still more to that of France; when refined in Holland, it produces 10 *per cent.* more than the former, and 20 *per cent.* more than the latter; and the making of salt, requires in Spain less labour than in Portugal or in France. Thus Spanish salt may be afforded the cheapest, as requiring less labour; and yet may draw the highest price, as superior in quality; notwithstanding which shining advantages, scarce any salt is exported from Spain; and no wonder, for an exorbitant duty makes it come dearer to the purchaser than any other salt. A more moderate duty

duty would bring more profit to the public; beside easing the labouring poor, and employing them in the manufacture. The superior quality of Spanish raw silk, makes it in great request; but as the duty upon it exceeds 60 *per cent.* it can find no vent in a foreign market: nor is there almost any demand for it at home, as its high price has reduced the silk-manufacture in Spain to the lowest ebb. But the greatest oppression of all, as it affects every sort of manufacture, is the famous tax known by the name of *alcavala*, upon every thing bought and sold, which was laid on in the fifteenth century by a cortes or parliament. It was limited expressly to eight years; and yet was kept up, contrary to law, merely by the King's authority. This monstrous tax, originally 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, was by the two Philips, III. and IV. augmented to 14 *per cent.* sufficient of itself to annihilate every branch of internal commerce, by the encouragement it gives to smuggling*. The difficulty

* The following passage is from Ustariz, ch. 96.

" After mature consideration of the duties imposed
" upon commodities, I have not discovered in

" France,

culty of recovering payment of such oppressive taxes, heightened the brutality of the farmers; which hastened the downfall of the manufactures; poverty and distress banished workmen that could find bread elsewhere; and reduc'd the rest to beggary. The poor husbandmen sunk under the weight of taxes; and as if this had not been sufficient to ruin agriculture totally, the Spanish ministry superadded an absolute prohibition of exporting corn. The most amazing article of all, is a practice that has subsisted more than three centuries, of setting a price on corn; which ruins the farmer when the price is low,

" France, England, or Holland, any duty laid up-
" on the home-sale of their own manufactures,
" whether the first or any subsequent sale. As
" Spain alone groans under the burden of 14 per cent.
" imposed not only on the first sale of every parcel,
" but on each sale, I am jealous that this strange
" tax is the chief cause of the ruin of our manu-
" factures." As to the ruinous consequences of
this tax, see Bernardo de Ulloa upon the manufactures and commerce of Spain, Part 1. ch. 3. ch. 13. And yet so blind was Philip II. of Spain, as to impose the alcavala upon the Netherlands, a country flourishing in commerce both internal and external. It must have given a violent shock to their manufactures.

and

and yet refuses him the relief of a high price. That agriculture in Spain should be in a deep consumption, is far from being a wonder : it is rather a wonder that it has not long ago died of that disease. Formerly there was plenty of corn for twenty millions of inhabitants, with a surplus for the great city of Rome ; and yet at present, and for very many years back, there has not been corn for seven millions, its present inhabitants. Their only resource for procuring even the necessaries of life, were the treasures of the new world, which could not last for ever ; and Spain became so miserably poor, that Philip IV. was necessitated to give a currency to his copper coin, almost equal to that of silver. Thus in Spain, the downfal of husbandry, arts, and commerce, was not occasioned by expulsion of the Moors, and far less by discovery of a new world *, of which the

gold

* Ustariz, in his Theory and practice of commerce, proves from evident facts, that the depopulation of Spain is not occasioned by the West Indies. From Castile few go to America, and yet Castile is the worst peopled country in Spain. The northern provinces, Galicia, Asturia, Eiscay, &c. send more people to Mexico and Peru than all the other provinces ;

gold and silver were favourable to husbandry at least ; but by exorbitant taxes, a voracious monster, which, after swallowing up the whole riches of the kingdom, has left nothing for itself to feed on. The following picture is drawn by a writer of that nation, who may be depended on for veracity as well as knowledge (a). “ Poverty and distress dis-“ people a country, by banishing all “ thoughts of marriage. They even de-“ stroy sucking children ; for what nou-“ rishment can a woman afford to her in-“ fant, who herself is reduced to bread “ and water, and is overwhelmed with “ labour and despair ? A greater propor-“ tion accordingly die here in infancy, “ than where the labouring poor are more “ at ease ; and of those who escape by “ strength of constitution, the scarcity of

vinces ; and yet of all are the most populous. He ascribes the depopulation of Spain to the ruin of the manufactures by oppressive taxes ; and asserts, that the West Indies tend rather to people Spain : many return home laden with riches ; and of those who do not return, many remit money to their relations, which enables them to marry, and to rear children.

(a) Don Gieronimo de Ustariz.

" cloathing and of nourishment makes
" them commonly short-lived."

So blind however are the Spaniards in the administration of their finances, that the present ministry are following out the same measures in America, that have brought their native country to the brink of ruin. Cochineal, cocoa, sugar, &c. imported into Spain duty-free, would be a vast fund of commerce with other nations : but a heavy duty on importation is an absolute bar to that commerce, by forcing the other European nations to provide themselves elsewhere. Spanish oil exported to America would be a great article of commerce, were it not barred by a heavy duty on exportation, equal almost to a prohibition : and the Spanish Americans, for want of oil, are reduced to use fat and butter, very improper for a hot climate. The prohibition of planting vines in Mexico, and the excessive duty on the importation of Spanish wines into that country, have introduced a spirit drawn from the sugar-cane ; which, being more destructive than a pestilence, is prohibited under severe penalties. The prohibition however has no effect, but to give the governors of

the provinces a monopoly of these spirits, which, under their protection, are sold publicly *.

But this subject seems to be inexhaustible. The silver and gold mines in the Spanish West Indies are, by improper taxes, rendered less profitable, both to the King and to the proprietors, than they ought to be. The King's share is the fifth part of the silver that the mines produce, and the tenth part of the gold. There is, beside, a duty of eighty piasters upon every quintal of mercury employ'd in the mines. These heavy exactions, have oc-

* It gives me pleasure to find, for the sake of my fellow-creatures, that the Spanish ministry begin to perceive the fatal consequences of these impolitic measures. In the year 1765, the trade to the islands Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, was laid open to merchants in every province of Spain; who were released from the oppressive duties on goods exported to America, by paying only six *per cent.* on commodities sent from Spain. It is probable that the beneficial effects of this measure may open the eyes of the Spanish ministry to further improvements. The power of the Spanish inquisitors is reduced within moderate bounds. May we not indulge the hope, that Spain will again become both a learned and commercial country?

casioned all mines to be given up but of the richest sort. The inhabitants pay 33 *per cent.* on the goods imported to them from Spain, and they are subjected beside to the alcavala, which is 14 *per cent.* of every thing bought and sold within the country. The most provoking tax of all is what is termed *la cruciade*, being a sum paid for indulgence to eat eggs, butter, and cheese, during Lent, which is yielded by the Pope to the King of Spain. The government, it is true, obliges no person to take out such an indulgence: but the priests refuse every religious consolation to those who do not purchase; and there is not perhaps a single person in Spanish America who is bold enough to stand out against such compulsion.

There is recorded in history, another example of destructive taxes similar to that now mentioned. Augustus, on his conquest of Egypt, having brought to Rome the treasure of its kings, gold and silver overflowed in Italy; the bulk of which found its way to Constantinople, when it became the seat of empire. By these means, Italy was sadly impoverished: the whole

ground had been covered with gardens and villas, now deserted ; and there was neither corn nor manufactures to exchange for money. Gold and silver became as rare in Italy as they had been of old ; and yet the same taxes that had been paid with ease during plenty of money, were rigidly exacted, which ruined all. The duchy of Ferrara, in a narrower compass, affords a later example of the same kind. It was one of the richest and most populous districts in Italy, when governed by its own princes ; but at present, under the Papal despotism, it is reduced to poverty and depopulation. There may be seen extensive meadows without a hand to cut down the grafts, or a beast to eat it. The water-passages are not kept open : the stagnating waters are putrid, and infect the air with a poisonous steam. In a word, that duchy is approaching to the unwholesome state of the Campagna di Roma, and soon like it will become uninhabitable. Well may it be said, that oppressive taxation is a monster, which, after devouring every other thing, devours itself at last. Bologna surrendered to the Pope upon terms, reserving

serving many of its most valuable privileges. Bologna continues a rich and populous city; and by moderate taxes the Pope draws from it ten times the sum that can be squeezed out of Ferrara by all the engines of oppression.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.

the public interest from an industrial point
of view does not appear to be so great
as it was at first thought, but it is to be
remembered that the cost of coal will be
less than the cost of steam. The new locomotives
will be more economical in running.

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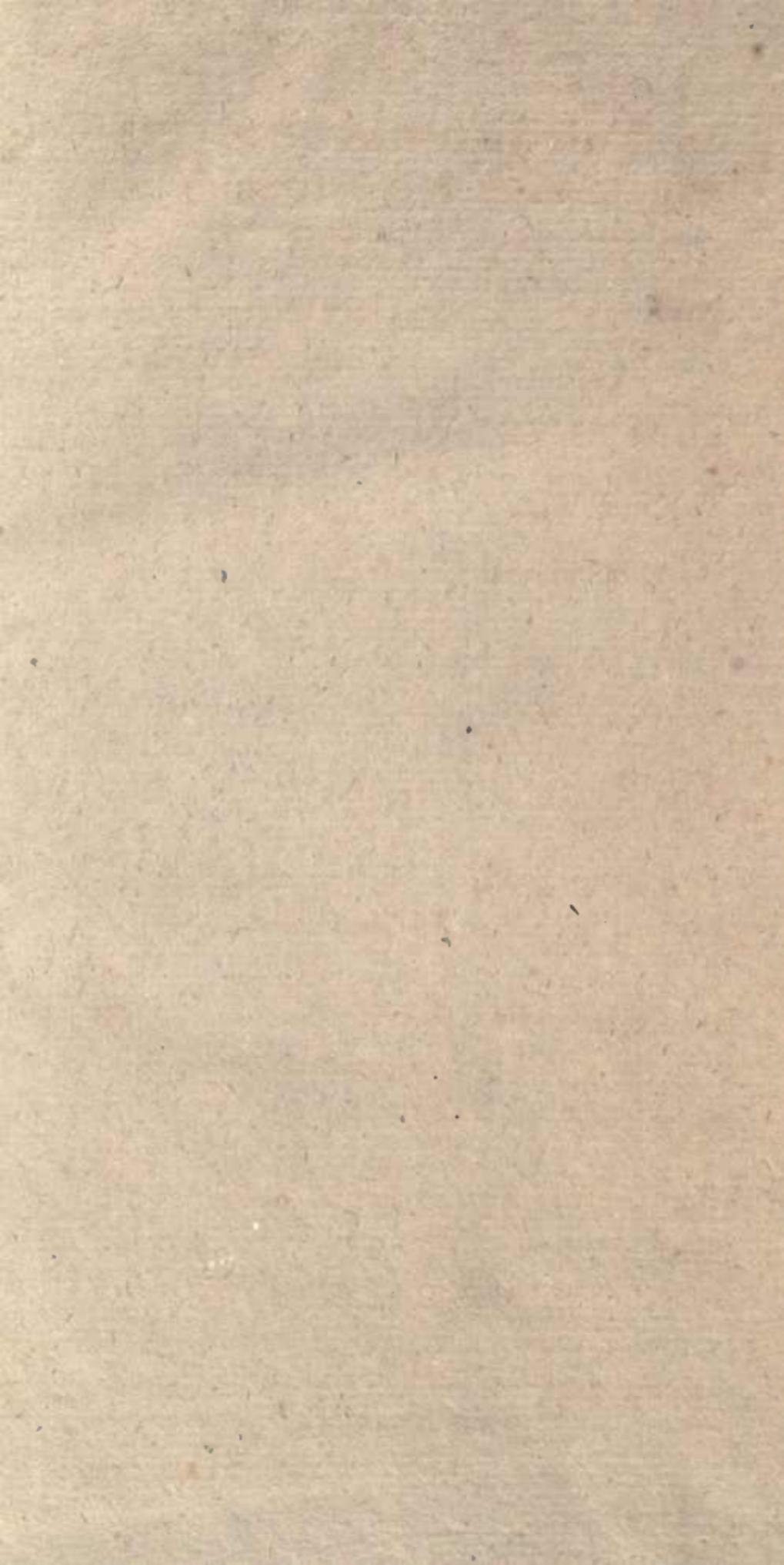
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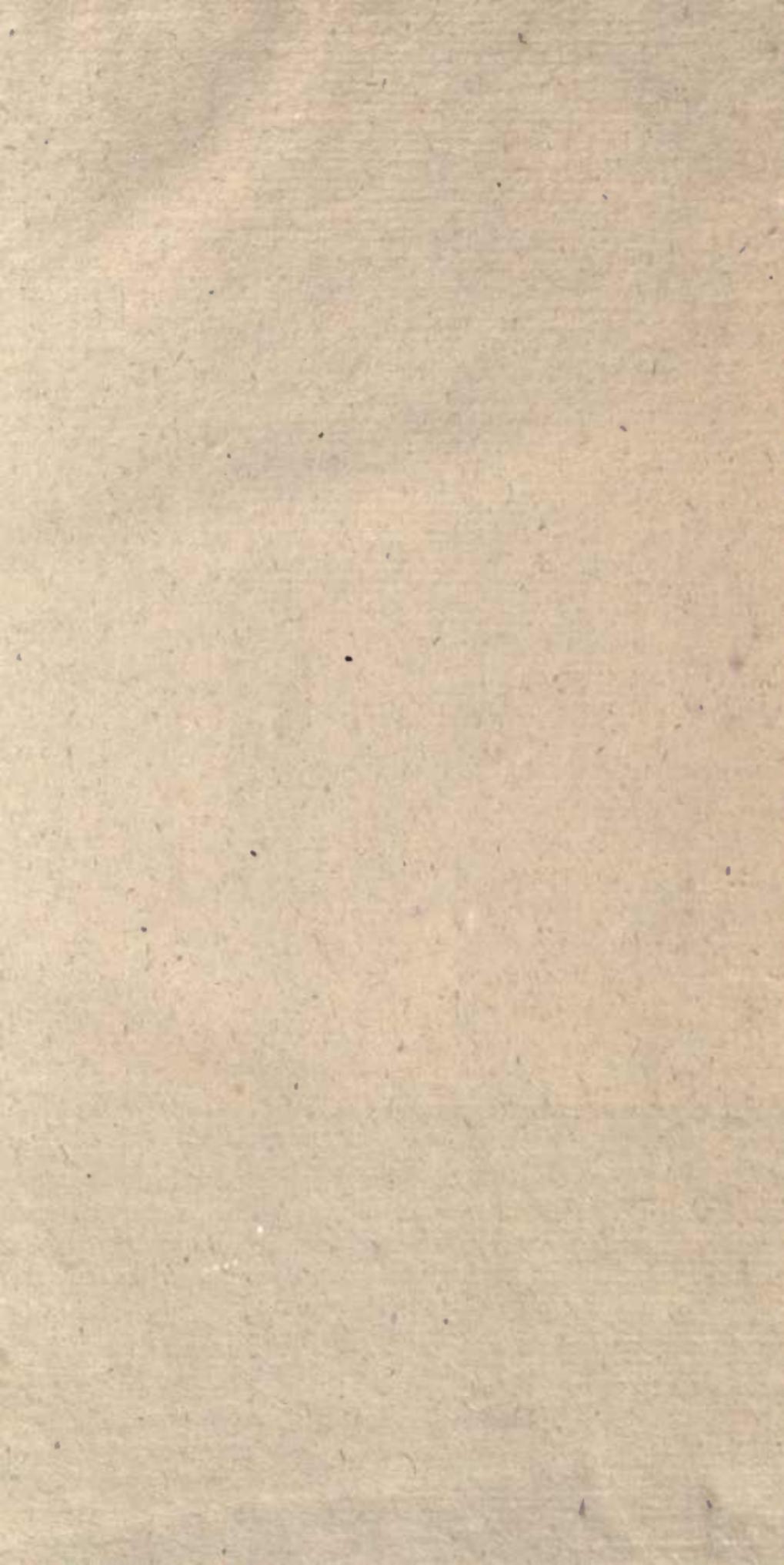
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